

# Contemporary Review

incorporating THE FORTNIGHTLY

No. 1102 OCTOBER 1957

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The Second Empire. IX. Prince Napoleon	G. P. GOOCH, D.LITT., F.B.A.
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Valediction— <i>A Poem</i> . . . .	DEREK STANFORD

Literary Supplement—Contributors: George Bilainkin, M. Philips Price, M.P., Dr. J. Lesser, Dr. Richard Barkeley, Arnold de Montmorency, Lovesday Martin, Grace Banyard.

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CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

46-47 CHANCERY LANE · LONDON W.C.2

## THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO AMERICA

**I**N October the Queen's visit to North America takes place—to Canada and to the United States. In some quarters there is a tendency to regard this as just one more official royal tour, like that to Portugal. The Queen, however, is head of the senior member of that group of nations which we call the English-speaking world. She is not any such symbol for the Portuguese or the Scandinavian worlds. Her visit to the United States, the first visit of an English sovereign to many of these States, can become an historical event of the first magnitude. It can become this, emotionally and politically, if it is not mishandled. It will be the prayer of the whole world of the English speech that it will be imaginatively planned. It is to be hoped that nobody, not purblind, has forgotten that such a world exists, the world which oddly still remains that of "the King's English," whatever clever busibodies with a talent for stirring division may say to the contrary.

There is one country in the world named after Elizabeth I. It is Virginia, named after the "Virgin Queen," and still proud to be called "the Old Dominion," the first Dominion. In it, on Jamestown Island, was founded in 1607 the first permanent English settlement in all America. The place was never very important. The sesquicentenary Exhibition is not in the grand style. But that site, which should have a certain sacred character for any Englishman of imagination, Queen Elizabeth II will visit this October. Had she not gone, it would have amounted symbolically to a British disclaimer of interest in one of the proudest, most pregnant and most successful ventures in British history.

From there the Queen will go to Williamsburg, the colonial capital of the old royal Governors. She will go to Washington, where not so long ago Sir Winston Churchill, himself (like our present Premier) half-American, addressed Congress; and on to New York where she will be the first British monarch ever to receive one of those full-scale welcomes which are part and parcel of New York's public life. When New York City had its jubilee the Lord Mayor of York, invited, could not trouble to attend. It was left for the Burgomaster of Amsterdam to recall to New Yorkers an earlier past as New Amsterdam. This was an instance of how not to do things. That impression, it is to be hoped, will now be quite obliterated.

The Queen, when in Washington, at a ball-game will be the guest of His Excellency the Governor of Maryland, whose last royal predecessor was an Eden, one of Sir Anthony's ancestors. The connection always guaranteed Sir Anthony a free platform at choice in the Maryland Legislature. It is perhaps a pity that the Queen will not have time to visit New England—or Amherst College, which recalls Lord Jeffrey Amherst. It is yet more of a pity that this time she cannot go West to the land where, as every Californian knows, Drake flew the flag of St. George for 40 or more days and, on June 17, 1579, claimed California, not yet explored by Spain, asserting that the natives had resigned their "title in the whole land unto her majesties keeping, now named by me and to bee knowne unto all men as Nova Albion." It will be gracious for the Queen to remember this no less than do San Franciscans. No other visiting monarch in America has any comparable associations to recall, or comparable responsibilities.



Should the Queen go to South Africa she would find a land, officially contemplating becoming a republic, and where she would be addressed by her Ministers in Dutch as one of the official languages. In Canada she may well be addressed in Montreal officially in French. On a previous visit, actually she was so addressed by the mayor. In that greatest Canadian city, the largest French-speaking city in the world after Paris and proud of it, French-speaking students have demonstrated against the newest hotel being called the Queen Elizabeth Hotel on the ground that it should be called the Château Villeneuve. In Ottawa there is a campaign that the streets shall also be named in French. It is idle to ignore the "French-ness" of sentiment of French Canada, although a sentiment far more conscious of Québec than attached to Paris. It is not for nothing that the Queen in Canada quarters her coat of arms with the *fleurs-de-lys* of France.

In the United States the "melting-pot"—which is in fact "the little red schoolhouse"—has guaranteed that English shall be the unchallenged common language from Maine to Florida, and alike in sometime French Louisiana and in sometime Spanish California. A few French-speaking Canadians in Louisiana, rather more Spanish-speaking people in New Mexico and Arizona, a few unassimilated immigrants with vernacular newspapers, are all that are left. The Canadian situation, where over a third are French-speaking, has here no parallel. This great Catholic French-speaking country of Lower Canada, the land of those who hold themselves to be the sole true *Canadiens*, has an immense future before it. But its future, as part of a multi-lingual, multi-racial Commonwealth, will never be part of that other world which treasures the common memories of what Sir Winston calls "the English-speaking peoples," the world of Raleigh and Drake, a world which the Queen heads by right of birth and which will assuredly, despite a few discordant voices, prepare to give her a tumultuous welcome of immeasurable political importance, comparable to that which she will without question receive in Canada. Her tact and graciousness, and that of her escort, will assuredly not only receive such a welcome but will deserve it. She has only to trust to her nature, in the great style of her royal name-sake and predecessor, and to be herself. It is yet idle to suppose that the success which may be anticipated for this vitally important tour is beyond all risk of mischance. It can be mishandled, not I would suspect so much at the political level—for who knows America better than Mr. Macmillan?—but at the official level.

I always recall the remark to me of a distinguished former Colonial Secretary: "Where is Massachusetts?" He could have been referred to the Colonial Office files. Perhaps the remark was a "dead-pan" joke in the style of Mr. Justice Darling, although that was not my impression. Before King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visited the Roosevelts at Hyde Park, on the King's visit to the States, the Roosevelts were flooded with detailed official instructions about what their guests would require. It is correct to say, according to information given me at Hyde Park, that this was mildly resented. The tacit and unflattering assumption was that the President had never received royal personages before. No error can be worse than to assume that being royal and being stiff are the same thing. At an exalted level of the White House these minor incidents can be lost in the general routine of diplomatic protocol. But the American people, here like the

Australian, is a warm-hearted people, tolerant of almost anything save one. It is intensely resentful of that coldly superior attitude which it regards, to use the local vernacular, as "high-hat." Some people were doubtless shocked when after the Queen, then Princess Elizabeth, had made a little speech on arrival at Washington on her earlier visit, President Truman replied, "Very nice, my dear." It is most improbable that the Princess did other than enjoy this breeziness. Queens, it may be, do not move in the popular world of "luv" and "dear." But there is no reason to suppose that the Queen lacks that warmth which her mother undoubtedly has in an admirable degree.

The transfer of power (the thing to which of all men are most attached) as amongst great nations is always a highly delicate and even explosive operation. Especially is this so if there are active foreign governments that wish it ill. It has been our great good fortune that, in the case of India and the United States, this transfer—in the latter case to that Atlantic Community which *has* to be built, and of which the core is the Anglo-Saxon Powers—has been so uncantered by resentments. France has not been as lucky. We should avoid even being guided, on either side, by a contemptible jealousy than can be the ruin of us all. However, in Britain there have been newspapers who were, in the beginning, not only opposed to the Royal Visit but publicly campaigned against it. One of these journals quoted a Court official as saying that he "thought the whole thing cheap." It was settled constitutionally as long ago as the early days of Queen Victoria and Peel, in the famous Ladies of the Bedchamber case, that it is not the business of court officials to express independent political views. Admittedly the monarch's Private Secretary holds a new office of critical importance, advising the sovereign when he or she may be in transit from constitutional advice by the Cabinet of Great Britain to constitutional advice by a Dominion Cabinet. Of this office no scholar has yet made an adequate constitutional study. The Queen, it will be remembered, when she arrives in Ottawa is Queen of Canada, to be advised by her Canadian Ministers, presumably with some respect for the view of the loyal Opposition. The views of the London Court no longer obtain. The constitutional position is yet broadly clear. The Monarch should not be advised, or even appear to be advised, contrary to the political decisions of her Cabinets, least of all in international affairs. The rôle of the Queen today would seem to be to help cement that sentiment upon which alone the vital Atlantic Community can be founded. No one is in a position to do it better or "more royally."

There have in the past been eminent servants of the Crown who have had almost an instinct, a sixth sense, for the American mind and opinion. The late Marquess of Lothian was an instance. From the days when he was Philip Kerr he loved the American people, without being blinded in his judgments. That inner sympathy produced its certain response. This thing is not a matter of official training, learned from diplomatic files, but a human gift. Our present Ambassador in Washington, Sir Harold Caccia, has the immense advantage of being a personal friend of the President, that is (to recall a title which constitutionally he cannot use) Sir Dwight Eisenhower, and has served on campaigns with him. It would be a quite admirable thing if somebody of trust, with these gifts and this background, on hand to advise from day to day, could be attached to Her Majesty's

entourage. We do not want instead some Donald Maclean, because he happens to be in charge at the Foreign Office of the American desk. Nevertheless the history of foreign affairs is strewn with the record of such calamities. It is a matter for the attention of the Prime Minister himself.

Let us hope for a favourable wind and God-speed. After all, certain unhappy events of about 1774-5, as anybody will recognize who has read the speeches of Chatham and Rockingham, Burke, Shelburne and Grafton—all Premiers save Burke—were very much a party issue rather than a national one. Always I have hoped that, corresponding to the great St. Gaudens statue of Lincoln outside the Abbey, outside the White House by British subscription might be placed a mighty statue of Chatham, with these other men as supporters, recording their speeches. Maybe this too will result from the royal visit. Maybe we shall also see a return visit from President Eisenhower—who, unlike Vice President Nixon, for 10,000 soldiers will always be known as "Ike." Perhaps a new imaginative recognition will spring up of the importance, as a link, of the English language, a *mystique* of language such as has built new political communities even in our days. It will be well to recall that English and French are the two great world languages. And the great Roman Empire left, almost as its sole legacies to succeeding ages, a law and a language. So may we. Above all, what we can expect from this visit is a quelling of the carping, wrecking and suicidal inferiority complex of anti-Americanism; and also the beginning of a surge of energy in the constructive task of building the sentiment and institutions, wider than any United Europe, of an Atlantic Community, both desirable and also inevitable, the power-house of a world re-shaping.

GEORGE CATLIN

## MALAYAN INDEPENDENCE

THE achievement of independence by the Federation of Malaya is a fresh landmark in the story of the Commonwealth. After years of listening to talk of "Merdeka" it is quite a relief to find it accomplished at last, although an unbiased observer might sometimes wonder just who has gained freedom from what and who will benefit from it. When the oratory and the celebrations are over there seems to be left a somewhat shaky structure, and a risk that it may disintegrate into chaos. There are still many questions to be answered, and not all of Malaya's well-wishers feel the confidence in her future which has been expressed by various statesmen and politicians in recent months. With so many and such large racial groups involved some apprehension is understandable. Certainly the present leaders of the principal groups are men of goodwill and integrity, but who can say at what point they may be replaced by less scrupulous demagogues? It only needs a few young gangsters to commit a murder or two, or to beat up some inoffensive child or old woman, for the most frightful rumours to start among the large numbers of ignorant and superstitious people concerned. Violence breaks out almost at once, as was shown in the racial riots at Penang last January, while behind it all lies the shadow of Communism with its belief that the end justifies the means.

Bearing in mind that the population of the whole area is only about five

millions, of which nearly one quarter is in Singapore and therefore outside of the new Federation, it might be thought that with tolerance and inter-marriage a complete integration could be effected in a reasonable time. It is unfortunately the case, however, that in the three main racial groups—Chinese, Malays, and Indians—there are too few with the education and breadth of vision to overcome the ancient prejudices and traditions of the majority. For its proper development and future prosperity Malaya has always needed a plentiful supply of labour, and in former times this was always available by recruitment from China and India. Restrictions on immigration since the war, have led to shortages which have paved the way to strikes, and other labour troubles that no amount of mechanization has been able to alleviate. Management has continued to struggle, but it is an up hill fight and many of the younger Europeans are now looking elsewhere for more rewarding and satisfying outlets for their energies and abilities. Who will take their place?

The position of Singapore in the new set-up may seem logical to a student of politics, but it hardly makes practical common sense. As the largest city and the best-equipped port in the Malayan peninsula it lies ready at hand to perform its natural function as the outlet and business centre for the southern part of the Federation. But it remains a British Colony, there is a frontier between it and the new sovereign country, and pronouncements are made from time to time concerning plans to develop Federation ports in competition with it. Of these the only two at present capable of handling any volume of ocean shipping are Port Swettenham and Penang. Both ports are even now working to the maximum capacity permitted by present labour conditions, and congestion and delays are of frequent occurrence. The formation of a Port Commission at Penang, streamlining the various interests at that port, has opened the way for improvements, while Port Swettenham is controlled by the government-owned Malayan Railways and plans exist for expansion at some future date. In both cases capital is required, as no doubt it will be for port development at any other points which might be selected. Where will this capital be found?

It is stated that the British Government is to provide £20 million over the next five years to help deal with what is known as "the emergency," and a further £14 million towards the cost of building up the Malayan army. This generous aid will relieve the new country of the burden of providing for its own defence, and in future the Commonwealth Strategic Reserve, consisting of British, Australian, and New Zealand forces, will play an essential part in securing its territory against interference from without. The Colonial Development Corporation will no longer be able to put new government funds into new enterprises, however, and it will be necessary for the Federation to use its own resources for its own economic development. In the light of experiences in China, Indonesia, Egypt, and elsewhere, foreign private capital might well hesitate to play a major part.

For many years the basic industries of Malaya have been rubber and tin. The miles and miles of rubber estates are a familiar sight to the visitor, as are the giant tin dredgers which eat their way from end to end of the low-lying river valleys and marshlands. To ensure continued prosperity further industries must be established, and it would seem important to increase agriculture and the production of rice and foodstuffs to a much

greater extent than hitherto. The East coast of Malaya is a comparatively undeveloped area, possibly because of its scarcity of sheltered harbours and its exposure to the north-east monsoon of the China Sea. Here again extensions of the road and railway systems and new harbour works call for capital investment and for more labour, as well as an end to the present insecurity and banditry.

Malaya is a land of great scenic beauty. Its forests and hills, its wonderful dawns and sunsets, and its clouds and thunderstorms have inspired warm emotions in many a European breast since Raffles and Swettenham wrote enthusiastically of its possibilities 130 years ago. Under British guidance and protection it has amply fulfilled the promise of their vision, and its colourful peoples have mostly prospered and have lived not unhappily. Times have changed all over the world and there is no putting the clock back. Whatever the future may hold for Malaya all who know it will wish nothing but good fortune to the new State and to Tengku Abdul Raham, its present Prime Minister.

W. J. MOORE, D.S.C.

## ISRAEL'S FOREIGN POLICY

MRS. GOLDA MEIR, the only female Foreign Minister in the world, receives me for an exclusive interview in her office in Jerusalem. She is simply dressed and wore her first hat as Minister to Moscow shortly after the proclamation of the Jewish State. Her sparkling eyes betray kindness and human understanding. Although not in the best of health, and overburdened with work, Mrs. Meir, alias Meyerson, often fulfilled the most exhausting tasks. In 1946, when Ben Gurion was abroad and the other key personalities had been interned by the British, she took charge of the Jewish Agency and secured the continuation of this important semi-governmental institution. After the Sinai campaign her mission on the platform of Lake Success was probably even more delicate.

Mrs. Meir is a widow. Her son made his name as a 'cellist, and the daughter, married to a Jemenite, lives in a kibbutz in the Negev. By choosing this kind of collective life she followed in the footsteps of her mother, who left the agricultural settlement only because she was urgently needed for party and trade union work. My wife switches on the tape recorder, as we want to keep Golda's voice for our record library. Then we embark on an improvised conversation. I asked her about her attitude towards the Middle East policy of the United States. Mrs. Meir views it very positively: With her knowledge and experience of dynamic developments, she replied, the coming of the United States would inaugurate a new era for the backward countries. The Arab states, too, would eventually appreciate the advantages of raising the standard of living and the cultural level. The most urgent project was the question of irrigation. There were many desert lands which, once irrigated, could solve the problems of many hundreds of thousands of people. During Golda Meir's term as Foreign Minister Israel has recognized the Eisenhower Doctrine. Her confidence in the Americans is not due to theoretical knowledge, for she was brought up in America and taught in Milwaukee. She is grateful to the President and Mr. Dulles for their firm

stand about the Gulf of Akaba and the passage of Israeli ships through the Straits of Tiran.

Mrs. Meir, a native of Kiew, regards Russia's growing interest in the Middle East with concern. "Probably the Soviet Union, which has implemented many projects in its own country, could do something for the development of the Middle East. Unfortunately it started its approach to the Middle East with armaments—not the most constructive way of coming into an underdeveloped area. Israel is interested in good relations with all states irrespective of their regime but naturally, we feel nearer to those countries from which Jews are allowed to emigrate freely to Israel." As so often before, the Foreign Minister appealed to Israel's friends to supply her with the same amount of arms and equipment as are being supplied by the Eastern block to Syria and Egypt. "No one here can imagine why Syria and Egypt need such vast quantities of modern arms except for the purpose of attacking us."

When I mention the recent declarations of the Arab Kings and governments about the return of the Arab refugees to Israel as well as to the borders of the 1947 partition plan, she talks of "Illusions, in which our neighbours indulge, without probably themselves believing in them. You cannot turn the wheels of history back. This is not 1947, but 1957. Israel is not a backward country but a very dynamic one. In our history this decade was one of great, yes, even revolutionary development. What may have been plausible in 1947, had our Arab neighbours accepted it in peace and collaboration, is just a phantasy today. The frontiers of 1947 are no longer frontiers. This country has been developed within the frontiers established as a result of the unprovoked Arab attack upon us. We shall not even consider seriously any talk about the 1947 frontiers."

In Mrs. Meir's opinion the Arab refugee problem is solely the responsibility of the Arab states and their leaders who started to invade Israel in 1948: "There are many refugee problems concerning millions of people. The Arab refugee problem is the easiest and could have been solved years ago had they not preferred to keep these people in their misery as a pawn against Israel. They can go amongst their own peoples, where there is no difference in language, religion, the way of life and cultural background. The Arab countries need more manpower. There is arable land, excellent possibilities for irrigation, and money enough for their resettlement. The Israel government was and is prepared to co-operate in the solution of this problem to the greatest extent possible. During the nine years of the existence of the state of Israel we have absorbed and settled a much larger number of people than can technically be considered refugees. We have done this because we wanted to solve the Jewish refugee problem. If the Arab leaders would have had the same intention, instead of sabotaging and boycotting every practical solution, this whole question would have been forgotten long ago." My somewhat provocative suggestion that Israel might tolerate UNEF units on her side of the border, so to speak as a change of guards, and replace the endangered members of the frontier settlements, is ardently rejected. "We don't want anybody to do the work for us, and we believe UN troops should only be stationed where there is danger of disturbances, infiltration, laying of mines, etc. From our side there is no danger of that kind. We have never done it and we never will."



She dismisses the reports about peace feelers between Israel and individual Arab states as propaganda in some of the Arab states against other Arab states. "Behind it lies the absurd idea that nothing worse could be said about an Arab government than that it desires peace. Should it not rather be a compliment for a country if it desires peace? But Colonel Nasser thinks the mere desire for peace and quiet is a tragedy. He presumes that the amount of power a ruler wields depends solely upon disturbances, incidents and war. If he cannot believe in the possibility of a government devoted to peace and constructive efforts, this lies in the nature of his regime."

Like Ben Gurion, the Foreign Minister favours good relations with Western Europe which Israel regards as a stabilising factor for peace. She desires, apart from the excellent relations with France, also good contact with the other pillar in Western Europe—the German Federal Republic. I mention that the Chancellor in an interview granted to me had expressed very positive views about Israel. Mrs. Meir agrees. "We have always greatly appreciated the utterances of the Chancellor, and we have only praise for the way in which the Federal Republic is implementing its reparation agreement with us. Every contact we have had with them during the past few years has been positive and gratifying." Mrs. Meir regards the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with Bonn as a logical conclusion of this development. She will never forget what happened to the Jews in Germany between 1933 and 1945, but she would consider it unjustified to burden with Hitler's crimes those men who today rule Germany democratically and try their best to make good.

Mrs. Meir was recently elected by a big American organization as the "outstanding woman of the year." To my question as to what outstanding qualities a woman must have to fulfil the tremendous tasks of a Foreign Minister she replies with good humour: "Only one. She must just be weak enough that when this task is placed upon her she has not got the courage to say No."

A. J. FISCHER.

## DENMARK'S DILEMMA

**A**N ages-old dream, recently next to coming true, was suddenly jeopardized by unexpected and larger prospects: will the Northern Economic Union, the imminent materialization of which was generally anticipated—hopefully by many, by some with apprehension—will this seal upon Scandinavian coöperation miscarry? A Committee of technicians set up by the governments of the Northern Countries and sponsored by that inter-parliamentary body, the Northern Council, will presently disclose its findings about the advantages and the disadvantages, the profits and drawbacks that may be expected from the founding of a customs and economic union among their peoples. Their common ethnic origin and fates throughout history, their linguistic and cultural community, and sentimental solidarity gave birth to aspirations towards a fuller integration of their lives. Parallel legislations and administrative measures have smoothed over the obstacles constituted by the national boundaries and linked the Northerners ever more closely together. The crown should be, the fusion of the three, or four national markets—Denmark, Norway and Sweden, maybe Finland; Iceland remaining apart, owing to her particular conditions—into one greater

economic unit. Now, a new event, that nobody could foresee at the time, threatens to render vain the efforts spent over several years upon economic and political research: will the European Economic Community, or Unified Market, presently going to start its operations, prove more attractive to Denmark than the hitherto cherished Northern Union?

There should be no doubt but that the sympathies of all Danes are for the tightest possible connections with their sister nations. An economic union with these would, therefore, appear the more natural as it must ultimately expand beyond the purely economic domain and invade the political sphere as well. And, politically, the Danes would by far prefer the community with the other Northern countries—yet without going as far as a fusion of sovereignties. Nor should be forgotten recent plans of a Northern defence union, commanded by the similarities of their strategic position, between East and West, which would inevitably mean some degree of dependence upon the powerful Southern neighbour, Germany, and the rest of the Continent beyond what may be of the sphere of the Council of Europe.

The founding of the "Economic Community of the Six" has fundamentally altered the issue. Denmark has been faced with a most delicate choice which will carry the gravest consequences for her economy and therewith for the standard of living of her people and the future of the country generally. At the moment when the European unified market proved to be more than a Utopian mirage, the Northern union lost the very core of its attractiveness. The size of a unified Scandinavian market which had appeared great as compared with Denmark alone dwindled to a trifle as against the vast European territories and populations.

It would be vain trying to dissimulate the fact that the European Continent constitutes a customer and a purveyor by far more important to Denmark than the combined Finland, Norway and Sweden. Whatever value one might attach to the sentiment of Scandinavian parentage, one cannot overlook the "*primum vivere*," the imperious command to weigh in the most scrupulous and meticulous manner the price Denmark would have to pay for choosing the North rather than the European Continent.

And that price would be the much higher as precisely the Northern partners of Denmark insist upon their being compelled to open their frontiers only ajar, if at all, to the Danish farm products, while the absence of Denmark from the European Union would mean the closing of these great markets which are, second only to the United Kingdom, her biggest customers.

It was therefore logical that voices have been raised from responsible circles among the Danish peasantry that one had rather to consider the adhesion of Denmark to the European unified market, and drop the idea of a Northern economic union. Having reviewed all the aspects of the question they realized that their country's membership of the one and the other at the same time would not be a feasible thing. Their retreat was only slightly covered with the transparent allusion that, ultimately, the other Northern nations might feel they had better also to come round and join the European combination. But this appears, at least for the present, as only a slight possibility. In its shape as provided by the drafts hitherto under discussion the Northern Economic Union could not, unlike the Benelux, enter the European Community wholesale. If Sweden might, in certain



circumstances, be prepared to consider her entry, this would scarcely be the case of Norway who only reluctantly admitted even the Northern Union, feeling herself more bound up with Great Britain.

The Danish industrialists also soon realized that it might be to their advantage to get a footing upon the European unified market and its African dependencies, or rather that their exclusion from them would prove a sure disadvantage. They are perfectly aware that the free admission of European competition, above all by the German industry, into the Danish market would be a heavy commitment to them, certainly heavier than what would result from a Northern Union, which the scheduled transition period of 12 to 15 years would by no means prove too long to allay. Moreover, Denmark was traditionally a low-tariff country; and the tariff that has been worked out for the European Community is manifestly much higher than the present Danish one, and also than would have been intended for the Northern Union. That would raise the Danish level of salaries and costs of all kinds and thus weaken the competitive capacity of Denmark on foreign markets, in particular overseas where the Danish industrialists in recent years have been reaping growing successes, the merited fruits of secular perseverance.

The third solution, Denmark's participation in the Free-Trade Territory as sponsored and presided by Great Britain—if and when it materializes—had at first captivated the attention of several Danish observers. This was the more the case as a membership hereof might not prove incompatible with the existence of the Northern Economic Union. Yet when it appeared quasi-certain that the Danish farm products would be discriminated against therein, a preference being given upon the English market to products from the Commonwealth, the issue came to be considered a blind alley, leading only to exclude Denmark from the Continent but without her being given any facilities in exchange on the market of the United Kingdom which, so far, had been buying over one half of the Danish agricultural exports. Nor did the Danish industrialists think it possible to find adequate compensation there for the inconveniences incurred through the superposing of British competition on their home market upon the already dreaded Continental one.

While thus the economic spheres are taking a progressive interest in the European Unified Market it is still premature to prognosticate the attitude of the Government. As the said Community has by now been virtually constituted, Denmark, who did not participate in the preliminary negotiations, was thereby prevented from exercising some influence on the formulation of its statutes and their implementation. At its height the Danish Government might ultimately be able to safeguard the particular interest of their country, obtaining certain concessions, namely for its farm products where the rôle of Denmark parallels that of the Netherlands. The Dutch Government seems at present to favour the entry of Denmark into the Community as likely, yet, while being a competitor, to strengthen their own position within the same, the more so as the Dutch productive capacity is quite insufficient to cater for the needs of that vast market.

But meanwhile, the report of the inter-Northern Committee will be made public. While none of its contents have so far been officially revealed—it is expected in the beginning of this autumn—it is generally believed that the

Committee will recommend a Northern Economic Union that is to embrace within its scope some 80 per cent of the global inter-Northern exchanges of goods. A prominent member of the Northern Council, the president of the Danish Radical-Liberal party and who was recently promoted minister of economic affairs and for Northern coöperation, has ever been and is still an eager protagonist of such a Union. The majority of the Socialist ministers (nine, out of a government of 16) have also hitherto been noted as partisans of the same, yet this attitude of theirs may at present have been weakened by the force of the new circumstances. Another among the four Radical ministers, the Secretary of trade, industry and shipping, has in a recent public meeting proclaimed his convictions in a manner that would be interpreted as his predilection for the European issue.

At the date when these lines are being written (early August, 1957) it is scarcely possible to predict which way the scales may turn, eventually. Be it the Northern, be it the European solution, still more the Free-Exchange Territory, the Danish industry will have to face a very difficult period of adaptation and which will claim for heavy investments, that probably could not be provided only by the Danish capital market. As to the peasants, they are actually anticipating the evolution on the world market with some anxiety, the prices of farm products having of late years lagging behind the general rise trend of manufactured goods. Their aims would be, less to search for new markets on the Continent where they have already a pretty good footing, than to avoid being evicted therefrom. As to the English market, the Danish farmer is satisfied, the United Kingdom will anyway, as by the past, continue buying his bacon and butter in the measure its privileged purveyors—the British farmer and the Commonwealth—may prove unable to cater for its needs, quantitatively and qualitatively—and no more. In commerce with England, as with anybody, profit and necessity prevail over personal sentiment and political affinities. That maxim must also be the guide for Denmark's eventual choice between a Northern and a European Unified markets.

*Copenhagen.*

KAY HECKSCHER.

## PARLIAMENTARY REMINISCENCES, 1940-1955

### III

HERBERT Morrison as Leader of the House of Commons was extraordinarily well qualified and was prepared to speak at very short notice on almost any subject. One could not help thinking, however, that the language which he employed was sometimes rather too colloquial, and I was greatly surprised when, as soon as it was published, I got hold of his book "Government and Parliament as surveyed from the inside," to find that it was written in such a superior style. Most orators speak as they write and write as they speak: Sir Winston Churchill, for example, Lord Winterton, L. S. Amery, Lord Templewood, Lord Simon, Mr. Asquith, Lord Birkenhead—to mention only a few. On meeting Herbert Morrison I congratulated him on his book, but expressed surprise that his style as a writer was so superior to his style as a speaker. "Why don't you speak as you write?" I said, "because you could do it so well." He was not in the least

hurt by what might have been taken to be a criticism of the style of his speeches as Leader of the House, and replied, to my amusement, that he thought the colloquial style was better suited to the House of Commons, which I did not think was very complimentary to our Members.

The abolition of the University seats which came into force at the General Election of 1950 was popularly attributed to the influence of Herbert Morrison, and this was felt by the Conservative Members to be a distinct breach of the "Gentleman's Agreement" at the time of the Speaker's Conference of 1944. By this the Conservatives had made an immense concession to the Labour Party, because they had agreed that in return for the preservation of the University seats the municipal franchise, which had been restricted to those who paid rates, would be assimilated to the Parliamentary which was practically universal. The new municipal register was therefore of a very much more popular character than had previously been the case and was thought to favour the interests of the Labour Party. It was no longer a question of those who paid the rates "calling the tune" but of those who paid no rates at all, and to whose interest it was to spend as much as possible, as they did not contribute anything to the upkeep of the municipal and county institutions. In spite of this arrangement, agreed to at the Speaker's Conference of 1944, the Labour Party abolished the University seats in 1950, with momentous consequences to the country, for not one of the twelve University Members had been an adherent of the Labour Party; one had been Liberal, the others either Conservative or Independent. Therefore, had the University Members been able to stand again in 1950, the Labour Party, instead of having a majority of seven would have been in a minority, and a Conservative Government would have come into power, and many of the decisions in our foreign policy, which had disastrous consequences, would have been avoided.

In order still further to secure that there should be a Labour majority the two seats of the City of London, which had originally been four, were also abolished, and only one seat was given to the combined cities of London and Westminster. Therefore the City of London, which historically has always wielded the greatest commercial and political influence in the country, had not only lost its separate identity but had been deprived of more than half its political power, since it had to share its sole remaining member with the City of Westminster. Another piece of what appeared to us very sharp practice was that after the Boundary Commission had carefully drawn up its recommendations, the Labour Party insisted on adding 17 new Constituencies, giving certain large industrial boroughs an extra seat, because it was calculated that thereby it would stand a better chance of a majority. Mr. Churchill described this as "a disreputable job." Considering all these manipulations of the constituencies it is surprising that the Labour Party had only a majority of seven at the General Election of 1950.

Mr. Ernest Bevin, during the period of the Coalition, was a very efficient Minister of Labour and enforced with great fairness and impartiality the Acts of Parliament providing for conscription. The Armed Forces were supplied with the necessary man-power smoothly and effectively. On the fall of the Coalition Government in 1945 he was made Foreign Secretary in the new Labour Government. This was certainly an acid test and no doubt he was in many ways successful. Unfortunately his lack of knowledge of

European history led him to make serious mistakes. Further, it seemed to us that he abused the treaty-making prerogative of the Crown. It amounted almost to underrating the dignity of Parliament to submit on a Friday (when the House only sits between 11 a.m. and 4 p.m.) approval of the Treaties of Peace with Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland in one Resolution. I complained that, for instance, the Treaty with Italy was laid before us without the necessary maps which were referred to in the different clauses. I had to obtain from the French Embassy the various maps illustrating the proposed changes of frontier between France and Italy. The Minister in charge—who was an Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office—seemed to be quite unaware of the reasons for these changes. Strategically they were of vital importance to France: for instance, in the Southern Alps, the heads of the valleys were often in Italy, while the villages which used the pastures were in France. Every summer when the French moved their cattle up to their feeding grounds in the higher Alps, as they had done for centuries, there was constant friction with the Italian authorities. It was necessary to make the frontiers coincide with the watersheds. Then again on the Little St. Bernard the summit of the pass was in Italy, and France was very vulnerable in this section of the Alps.

I took immense pains to explain these points to the House. A Labour Member interrupted and complained to the Deputy Speaker that I was going into too great detail and asked him to call me to order. The Deputy Speaker, however, allowed me to continue as he knew that I was within my rights, since I was confining myself to the actual text of the Treaty. Then again with regard to the frontier between Hungary and Rumania, no attempt seemed to have been made to rectify the injustices committed against Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon in 1919. No Boundary Commission had been appointed and at least half a million Hungarians were once more handed over to Rumania. Further, the Treaty of 1945 with Finland was extremely unjust, and I protested against the immense territorial cessions which were being made to Russia, to such an extent that it was no longer possible to protect the Finnish frontier, and the gallant resistance which she made to the Soviet invasion in 1940 could not be repeated, since Finland was now placed entirely at the mercy of Russia. I have already pointed out that on Friday, as the House adjourns at four o'clock, it was impossible in the time allowed to deal adequately with all these questions. Mr. Bevin himself should have been present to discuss these Treaties and answer the criticisms which were made on them, but the defence of the Treaties was left to an Under-Secretary obviously ill-informed and dependent on the briefs supplied him by the Foreign Office. I ventured to criticize the arrangement proposed with regard to Trieste which I pointed out was absolutely unworkable, and said that the only possible solution was to hand back the port and city of Trieste to Italy.

If Ernest Bevin seemed not to realize how serious were the complaints of Hungary, Trieste, and Finland, he was fortunately quite ready to give his attention to the question of the authorship of the Katyn massacres. While the Nuremberg trials were taking place I was desperately afraid that the Russian contention that the massacres had been committed by Germans might be brought before the tribunal and accepted by it, as one of the four judges was a Russian and, by one of the ironies of history, the Russians

were the accusers. When the Soviet report on the massacre appeared in three special numbers of the *Soviet News*, I read them very carefully, and although the conclusion in favour of Russian innocence was accepted by *The Times*, certain doubts arose in my mind, and I asked the Polish Minister of Information to let me examine all the documents in his possession bearing on the case. I spent all my spare time for several weeks in his office studying all the papers, notebooks and photographs dealing with the subject. Most of the papers and reports were in French or in German and therefore quite accessible. Those in Polish were translated for me by an English lady married to a Pole who had a thorough knowledge of both languages. I drew up my conclusions which, as Secretary of the Anglo-Polish Committee, I had intended to lay before that body, but less than an hour before the meeting was to take place I received an urgent request not to do this, as it was desired that the whole subject should be treated as extremely confidential. I contented myself with submitting my report to Mr. Churchill and handing another copy to Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, in person. The latter promised that it should be placed in the Foreign Office archives and that he would give it his personal consideration.

At the time of the Nuremberg trials Ernest Bevin was Foreign Secretary, and I asked for a personal interview with him. I gave him a copy of my report with some important documents in confirmation, and I begged him to have them forwarded to Nuremberg, so that they might be considered at the time when the case was coming up before the judges appointed to try the German criminals. Mr. Bevin said to me: "Savory, do you see that basket? I shall have to read the documents that are put into it before I go to bed tonight." I said that it looked as if the basket would involve an all-night sitting. He replied: "I hope it won't be quite as bad as that, but I promise to give your report priority." He was as good as his word, because the very next day I was sent for by the Attorney-General who said that he was forwarding at once my report with the accompanying documents to Nuremberg. It was a great satisfaction to me to learn afterwards from the verbatim account of the Nuremberg proceedings that the false charge that the Germans had been guilty of the massacre had been dropped, and consequently the matter had been left as an open question. Eventually I was given permission to publish my report, which previously had been sent to President Roosevelt at his special request; and when the American Congress appointed a committee of investigation, enquiries were held by this committee not merely in New York, but in London, in Germany and even in Italy.

The report of this committee was absolutely conclusive with regard to the guilt of Russia, and five volumes of the evidence were published. I drew up a motion which I put on the order paper—and for which I had obtained the signature of nearly half the members of the House of Commons. I then asked the Government on two occasions to grant facilities for the discussion of this resolution, but my request was refused. Knowing that the only time in the whole year that a private member can discuss fully a question of this nature is in the debate on the Address in reply to the Gracious Speech from the Throne, I applied to the Speaker to allow me to raise the question of the Katyn massacres, and I was able to deal fully with the whole case of the Russian responsibility for them. I felt the more

impelled to raise this question as I had been given graphic details by a Polish colonel—a cavalry officer—who had been for many years Military Attaché at the Polish Embassies at Budapest and Teheran, and who had managed to escape the massacre owing to the fact that he was thought to have typhus fever and was therefore left alone at the critical moment. He reported to me that the Russians who had despatched their victims in the month of May in batches to the slaughter, had actually had the cynicism to offer an elaborate banquet to each batch before they sent them off “to be repatriated” as the poor fellows thought. At first the officers were in the highest spirits on going off, but when nothing was heard from them, although they had all promised to write to those left behind, suspicion began to grow, and the uneasiness spread, till at last a few of the youngest officers quite broke down when informed that their turn had come to leave the camp, bad as conditions were in it. Finally, towards the end of June, the Polish colonel too was herded (with many others) into a cattle truck which was sealed before the train moved off for a destination which they are now certain was one of those grim forests near Smolensk that had witnessed the mass murders of their fellow-officers in May. But at a railway junction their carriage was suddenly uncoupled from the train, there was a sound of running feet and of voices chattering excitedly in Russian; then this colonel who understood Russian perfectly heard one railway official call out to another: “Stop, those carriages are to go no farther. They say a terrible mistake has been made.” The mistake referred to was that the Russians had killed thousands of highly trained officers whom the Polish army, which they were forming to help them, badly needed. After some delay the colonel with his companions was taken to a high ranking official who informed them that the Germans had just invaded Russia and asked them to help defend his country against the highly-mechanized Germans. This a number of Polish officers did, not dreaming that their comrades had been vilely done to death on Russian soil six weeks before the Germans had invaded it. The sight of the grim relics that I had myself inspected had filled me with a burning indignation which I have never since lost, and which has forbidden my being able ever again to accept any fraternization with Communists, whose whole conduct in international affairs for decades back has been consistently perfidious and evil.

DOUGLAS SAVORY

## THE SECOND EMPIRE. IX. PRINCE NAPOLEON

THE publication in 1925 of the correspondence between Napoleon III and his cousin Prince Jerome Napoleon supplied the key to the character and career of the *enfant terrible* of the Second Empire. Never throughout his life did he forget that he was the nephew of the greatest of mortal men, and when the Man of Destiny became the master of France he expected to play a part commensurate with his talents and his birth. That he remained “on the fringe of the Empire,” to quote his resentful words, soured him, though it was largely his own fault. The good fairies had lavished their gifts, among them an astonishing facial resemblance to *le petit Caporal*, but had withheld a capacity for teamwork and an ability to hold his tongue. That he was no courtier was to his credit, but he was unpredictable and his out-



bursts embarrassed the Dictator again and again. Too patriotic to be dismissed as a mere *frondeur*, he was certainly a *mauvais coucheur*. Yet in this complex personality there were some grains of gold amid the dross. Physically brave, industrious and incorruptible, he was capable of generous actions and a faithful friend—a man neither to be greatly admired nor wholly despised.

Born at Trieste in 1822, the son of Jerome Bonaparte and Catherine of Württemberg, Plonplon—an infantile attempt to pronounce his name—spent his childhood in Rome, where his grandmother Madame Mère, his uncle Lucien, and other members of the clan kept the fires burning. Every winter his aunt Hortense descended from Arenenberg with her younger son Louis to meet her elder son who lived with his disgruntled father in Florence. From his earliest days the precocious lad detested discipline, and his sister Mathilde had to remove his hat when he refused or forgot to comply with the customs of society. The family migrated to Florence after the Carbonari revolt in the Papal states in 1831, moving later to Lausanne, where he attended a French school. On the death of his mother his cousin Louis invited him to Arenenberg and taught him Latin and mathematics. Though Hortense disapproved his constant exclamations of "stupid" and "ridiculous," she liked him and left him 20,000 francs. The Arenenberg idyll, which lasted for a year, ended with the *putsch* at Strasbourg in 1836 and the return of the boy to Lausanne. The cousins were not to meet again for ten years, but they kept in friendly touch by correspondence.

At 15 Jerome entered a military school in Württemberg at the wish of his uncle King William. "Plonplon is working and his masters praise him," reported his elder brother, an officer in the Württemberg army, "but it is very difficult to inculcate military discipline. Though he is not directly disobedient, he thinks it silly, contrary to the rights of man, and offensive to his democratic principles." Despite his rebellious spirit he enjoyed military life. "I think you are working well," wrote Louis Napoleon in 1838 after returning from his American exile, "and you will soon be a first-rate officer. You know I love you as a brother. I almost envy you. It forms the heart and mind." After three years of study he received a commission in the Württemberg army and served on the staff; that he had learned his trade he was to reveal in the Crimean War. While the Boulogne escapade was frowned on by the ageing uncles, he expressed his sympathy. "Louis has had bad luck," he wrote to his sister, "and he may lose his life. His error is not so grave as people think. I am deeply distressed at this unhappy adventure. He has been my friend since childhood." Writing from Ham the prisoner informed his cousin that before starting from Boulogne he had made him his sole heir, and the letters from the fortress breathe genuine affection.

When the Prince proposed a visit the prisoner replied that it would probably be vetoed, though another first cousin Lucien Murat had been admitted. After several applications for leave to enter France he was granted a passport for "Count Starberg" in 1845 and on reaching Paris requested permission to visit Ham. That was for the King to decide, replied the Minister of the Interior. Receiving him at the Tuileries, Louis Philippe declared that he had no objection but that the Ministers must decide. Their adverse decision was a blow to both, and the prisoner expressed his grati-

tude for the attempt. "You are the only member of my family whom I love as a brother, the only one worthy of the great name we bear, as I have tried to be." A protest, firm but in moderate terms, should be made in the press. "That is indispensable, for you as for me: for me so that it be not thought I am abandoned by all my relatives, for you so it cannot be said that you have merely frequented the salons of our contemptible rulers." Conscious of its declining popularity, the Government grew uneasy at the news that the visitor was meeting left wing politicians, and after four months ordered him out of France. "Everyone," reported Thiers to his father Jerome, "was struck by his resemblance to the most popular figure of modern times, and also, more important, by his intelligence, tact and correct attitude." Though the object of his journey was unfulfilled it had not been wholly in vain.

The escape from Ham made governments more watchful of Bonapartist activities. "We have had to veto the entry of Prince Louis," declared the Foreign Minister of Tuscany, "all the more because we already have his cousin Prince Napoleon who aspired to a political role." Jerome joined Louis in London, where a meeting with Mazzini increased his sympathy with Italian nationalism. Louis was struck by the complexity and contradictions in the cousin, whom he had last seen as a lad of 14. "My chief complaint is his unintelligible character, sometimes frank and loyal, sometimes embarrassed and dissimulating. At one moment his heart seems to speak of glory, to sympathize with all that is great and generous; at another it is empty, arid, deceitful."

When the fall of the Monarchy opened the way for the return of the Bonapartes to France three of them, Jerome, a son of Lucien, and a son of Murat entered the Chamber. Jerome took his seat on the Left as member for Corsica among the moderate Republicans, and was sometimes described as the Red Prince. Proclaiming himself a son of the Revolution, he shared his cousin's interest in social questions and cultivated advanced thinkers, among them Proudhon and Pierre Leroux, Lamennais and George Sand. An ardent nationalist, he sought out the Polish *émigrés* and dreamed of the liberation of their country from the embrace of the Russian bear. The triumphant victory of Louis Napoleon in the plebiscite in December 1848 brought the family of the ex-King of Westphalia to the centre of the stage. Old Jerome was appointed Governor of the Invalides, Mathilde became hostess of the Elysée, and Prince Napoleon was packed off as Ambassador to Madrid at his own request. Incapable of controlling his tongue, he complained at Bordeaux on his way south that the President was dominated by reactionaries and could not follow his own course; in consequence in the coming elections opponents of the government should be returned in order to strengthen his hands.

The petulant utterance brought a well merited reproof. "You know I shall never submit to any ascendancy," wrote the President; "I shall always endeavour to govern in the interests of the masses, not of a party. I honour the men who by their capacity and experience can give me good advice. Every day I receive conflicting counsels, but I obey only the promptings of my reason and my heart. You were the last person to blame a wise policy, you who disapproved any manifesto because it was not wholly to the satisfaction of the chiefs of the moderate party. This manifesto contains the



conscientious expression of my opinions. The first duty is to reassure the country. Each day has its task: first security, then ameliorations. The coming elections, I do not doubt, will be the time for reforms and for strengthening the Republic by order and moderation. To reconcile all the old parties—that should be our aim and such is the mission attached to the great name we bear. It would fail if it divided instead of rallying the supporters of the government. For all these reasons I could not approve your standing in 20 Departments. Under the shelter of your name candidates hostile to the government would be returned, its loyal supporters discouraged, and the people wearied by the many bye-elections which would be required. So I hope you will be extremely careful to explain my real intentions to your friends, and not by any unconsidered words encourage the absurd calumny that my policy is dominated by sordid interests. Nothing, I repeat nothing, will disturb the serenity of my judgment nor weaken my resolve. Free from all moral pressure, I shall go forward on the road of honour with conscience as my guide, and when I step down, if they reproach me for unavoidable mistakes, I shall have done what I sincerely believe was my duty."

No one was less fitted by temperament for the profession of a diplomat whose first task is to become *persona grata* wherever he is sent. He was soon on such bad terms with Queen Isabella that she asked for his recall. Anticipating an unpleasant interview with the President, Drouyn de Lhuys, the Foreign Minister, began to explain the situation in soft words when his embarrassment was relieved in an unexpected manner. "I see what you are driving at. I know my cousin well. He is a monster." The verdict was delivered in quiet tones but with deep conviction. The Minister reported that on his way south the Ambassador had visited the prison at Bordeaux, shaken hands with political prisoners, promised them early liberation, and indulged in diatribes against his cousin. Installed in Madrid, he had established contact with enemies of the Spanish Government, openly declaring that the Bourbon dynasty should be expelled, if necessary by force, from the countries where it still ruled. Since he had already returned to Paris without instructions, his action was treated as a resignation, and he was relieved of his post.

No longer in the confidence of his cousin, the Prince was excluded from the preparations for the *coup* which he never approved. Holding aloof from public life for many months, he took the first step towards a reconciliation when he learned of a plot against the life of the President during a visit to Marseilles in September 1852. "My dear Louis. All my old feelings of brotherly friendship revive as keenly as ever. I feel that if politics have estranged us, my devotion to your person is unchanged. My heart goes out to you in the danger to which you were exposed." The President welcomed the approach, and on the proclamation of the Empire a few weeks later restored his cousin to favour by appointing him a Senator, a member of the Council of State, and a General of division, with a residence in the Palais Royal and a country estate at Meudon. His work as President of the Commission to prepare for the Exhibition of 1853 earned his election to the Académie des Beaux Arts.

On the outbreak of the Crimean War the Prince requested and received command of the Third Division. Caring for his men in sickness and in

health; and displaying conspicuous bravery in the battles of the Alma and Inkermann, he won the admiration of his fellow commanders and was acclaimed by Saint-Arnaud as worthy of the name he bore. A rumour that his return to France was due to cowardice was a libel, for he was sorely stricken by dysentery. After his first and last smell of gunpowder important civilian tasks awaited him. He was despatched on a mission to Berlin to persuade the King of Prussia to abandon his claim to Neuchâtel, and in 1858 was appointed Minister for Algeria and the Colonies. Though he was difficult to work with the Emperor valued his services. "My cousin," he remarked, "has often annoyed me. He loves contradiction and criticism, but he is clever and has a good heart."

His most conspicuous service to the Empire was his marriage to Clotilde, the 16-year-old daughter of King Victor Emmanuel, as part of the plan to drive the Hapsburgs from Italy. "He is clever," reported Cavour to his master. "Thrown in early life into the turmoil of revolutions he developed extreme opinions which brought him many enemies. Now he has grown more moderate. Greatly to his honour he has remained faithful to the liberal principles of his youth. He has always been a good son and has loved his cousin. If he has sometimes incurred his displeasure he has always remained loyal and affectionate." The Emperor warned the Savoy monarch that a refusal of his daughter's hand would cause enmity of the most Corsican of the Bonapartes. Lord Cowley on the other hand, was horrified by the bargain. "The bride looks a mere child," he reported after a dinner at the Tuileries. "When one sees this child sacrificed, for it is nothing else, to the ambition of her father and Cavour, what can be thought of such men? It is positively horrible to see that poor little frail creature by the side of that brute (I can call him nothing else) to whom she has been immolated." He had been hissed in the streets of Turin where the marriage had taken place, and on their entry into Paris there was not a cheer. Cowley's standards were English, not continental, for the bridegroom's morals were no worse than those of some other members of the family. The Austrian Ambassador thought no better of him, though everyone recognized his ability. "He is reputed to have liberal ideas," he reported in 1858. "He has esprit, plenty of it, perhaps too much initiative, an iron will which disdains scruples, but he lacks consistency in his ideas." In addition he was such a notorious Austrophobe that his marriage to a princess of the House of Savoy caused people to talk of war.

Since the war in Italy was timed for the summer of 1859 the Prince resigned the Ministry of the Colonies and was despatched to sound the Tsar in view of the approaching conflict. A further assignment was to encourage exiles in Italy to form a Hungarian Legion, but Kossuth's offer of the crown of St. Stephen if Hungary threw off the Hapsburg yoke was declined. When the storm broke the Prince was appointed to command the fifth army corps and was despatched to Genoa to await the arrival of troops from Africa. Thence he was ordered to Florence with instructions to hold Tuscany to the French alliance, to add the Tuscan forces to his own, and to prepare against an Austrian attack. Owing to these political missions the brief campaign was over before he could reach the front, but a further responsible task was assigned to him. After the preliminary meeting of the Emperors at Villafranca he was sent to work out the details of the settlement with Francis

Joseph at Verona, and was rewarded by a letter commending him for his zeal and skill.

G. P. GOOCH

(To be continued)

## SARAH GAMP

IT is not fashionable nowadays to commend the work of Hablot K. Browne. His heroines, we are told, are too pretty, his villains too grotesque. Yet there is one, at least, of his Dickens illustrations with which it would be difficult to find any fault: his Mrs. Gamp, sitting opposite her "frequent pardner" Betsy Prig in the little room over the shop of the bird-fancying barber Poll Sweedlepipe in Kingsgate Street, High Holborn: (*Martin Chuzzlewit*, Chapter XLIX). Here are the little, watery eyes, the loose, partly-toothless mouth, the pendulous double chins, the sagging, frowsy body. The wheezy voice is almost audible; we seem to catch a whiff from the teapot which did not contain tea. Neither Gillray nor Daumier could have done the thing better. Let us consider more closely this immortal woman, lineal descendant of the good Wif of besidë Bathe and near relation of Mrs. Quickly.

Mrs. Gamp was a Londoner. She seldom stirred beyond the sound of Bow bells, and her patron, Mr. Mould the undertaker, expressed surprise when he encountered her bound for Hertfordshire with a languishing patient in tow. "It is unusual, Sir," said Mrs. Gamp, "but only for a day or two at most." If, as may be conjectured, she was born in the eighth decade of the eighteenth century, she came too early into what she would have called this "mortal wale" to profit by the educational innovations of Robert Raikes, Joseph Lancaster or Dr. Bell. It is not even certain that she was literate, though she could distinguish in point of legibility between the written and the printed word. "It's my belief," she declared, *à propos* of Bailey Junior, "that all wickedness is Print to him." Like her kinswomen, the Wif of Bathe and Mrs. Quickly, she sprinkles her conversation with scriptural allusions. She had heard of, even if she had not perused, a book called the *Piljian's Progress*; but it is from the Bible that she quotes, or misquotes, most freely. Chadband, Stiggins and Pecksniff all lag far behind her there. Sometimes she gives a new twist to a familiar text: "rich folks may ride on camels, but it ain't so easy for 'em to see out of a needle's eye"; sometimes, in those imaginary conversations in which she delighted and excelled, she makes appreciative patients or their relations use Biblical phrases to honour her: "'We couldn't think,' they says, 'of trusting him to nobody but you; for, Sairey, you are as gold that has passed the furnace.'" The constant emergence of such phrases as going to one's long home, or to one's account, the valley of the shadow and the wale of tears suggests that attendance at the obsequies of deceased patients may have enriched her vocabulary along those lines.

Mrs. Gamp's views of Rooshans and Prooshans would appear to have been tintured with xenophobia. She must have seen the Allied Sovereigns and their suites when they visited London in 1814, and she cannot have been favourably impressed by what she saw. She had, however, an almost prophetic vision of what life would be like for those people a hundred years

later. "I am not a Rooshan or a Prooshan," she declared, "and consequently cannot suffer spies to be set over me." Even more prescient is her next remark on the same subject: "Some people may be Rooshans and others may be Prooshans; they are born so and will please themselves. Them which is of other natures thinks different."

When we first meet her, round about 1843, Mrs. Gamp had been a "widdier-woman" for more than 20 years. She and her husband had parted for an excellent reason: "incompatibility of temper in their drink." Yet when he was "summonsed to his long home" and she saw him in Guy's Hospital "a-lying with a penny piece on each eye and his wooden leg under his left arm," she "thought she would have fainted away." She did not faint away: a whisper ran in High Holborn that she had "even exerted such uncommon fortitude as to dispose of Mr. Gamp's remains for the benefit of science." He had not been a satisfactory husband. That same wooden leg "in its constancy of walkin' into wine-vaults and never comin' out again till fetched by force was quite as weak as flesh, if not weaker." Yet his widow cherished his picture in little, cut out of black paper, "a full length in order that the likeness might be rendered more obvious and forcible by the introduction of the wooden leg": and it hung on the wall in Kingsgate Street, flanked by a coloured representation of Mrs. Gamp in her youth and a bronze medallion of Mrs. Harris "in feathers, as she appeared when dressed for a ball." They had three children, all boys, none of whom survived the hazards of childhood. It must be conceded that Mrs. Gamp was a negligent mother, allowing one infant to sit on damp doorsteps "till they settled on his lungs," another to fall out of a third-floor window, and a third to be "turned up smilin' in a bedstead unbeknown," a rather cryptic colophon to his brief existence. Yet, oddly enough, there is a fugitive note of something not unlike tenderness in some of her incidental allusions to infants, for example in her vivid description of the entirely fabulous but absolutely credible Tommy Harris, "as calls me his own Gammy, and truly calls, for bless the mottled little legs of that there precious child (like Canterbury Brawn his own dear father says, which so they are) his own have I been ever since I found him—with his small red worsted shoe a-gurglin' in his throat where he put it in his play—a chick!—wile they was leavin' of him on the floor a-lookin' for it through the 'ouse and him choakin' sweetly in the parlour."

It is worthy of note also, that, though Dickens freezes the reader's blood by describing her methods when "nussing lunacies" or looking after delirious invalids, he does not hint at any such horrors when she was engaged in her own particular branch of the nursing profession. On the contrary, she was in great and constant demand among the matrons of High Holborn: and one can accept without a very large grain of salt her own account of her demeanour at their bedsides: "No blessed creetur as ever I was with in trying times—and they're a many in their numbers—ever brought it as a charge against myself that I was anything but mild and equal in my spirits. 'Never mind a-contradicting of me if you seems to feel it does you good, ma'am,' I often says, 'For well you know that Sairey may be trusted not to give it back.'"

Though it is often said, on the authority of John Forster, that the figure of Mrs. Gamp was suggested by a nurse once employed by the Baroness

Burdett Coutts, Dickens himself speaks of her as "a fair representation of the hired attendant of the poor in sickness" at the time the book was published. There is nothing in common between her and Princess Charlotte's nurse in her rustling silk gown; and though Harriet, Countess Granville, frankly preferred the old-fashioned, cosy, even if unhygienic midwife, one cannot believe that she would have tolerated an infusion of snuff into the gruel, barley-water, apple tea or mutton broth in which Mrs. Prig considered that snuff "didn't signify."

Did Mrs. Gamp ever regale any of her women-patients with sips from her own particular and sacred "bottle on the chimley-piece"? It is improbable but not unthinkable; for a medical gentleman in a treatise published in 1817 complained bitterly of the type of nurse who habitually "administered strong stimulants against the doctor's orders as soon as he had left the house." If Mrs. Gamp stayed her hand on its way to the bottle it may have been owing to a recollection of the excellent "mortar" by which she professed to be guided: "Bless the Babe and Save the Mother."

Though her paths had not brought her into professional contact with Mr. Guppy's "swan-like aristocracy," Mrs. Gamp was accustomed to her comforts; she was very choice in her eating, and "repudiated hashed mutton with scorn." We know what were the viands of her choice: buttered toast, with the crusts cut off "on account of tender teeth and not too many of 'em"; a new-laid egg or two, "not biled too hard"; pickled salmon, with "a nice little sprig of fennel and a sprinkling of white pepper"; fresh butter; a "mossel" of cheese; and one of those "cowcubers" reputed to "do a world of good in a sick-room." The ale she drank was "Brighton Tipper," it being "considered wakeful by the doctors"; and her favourite nightcap was "a shillingsworth of gin and water warm."

Hablot K. Browne's Mrs. Gamp is an almost horrible old creature; but it must be remembered that in the opinion of that precocious worldling, Bailey Junior, there were "the remains of a fine woman about Sairah." He qualified this verdict with the ungallant clause that she had "too much crumb" but was kind enough to add that there were "many worse at her time of life." She certainly satisfied Charles II's test of good breeding, "to be easy oneself and make other's so." Unless when "vexed or worried," she was the soul of affability; and her flow of conversation could be relied upon to sweep over all but the deepest chasms of social incompatibility. There are two curious—and to devout Gampites regrettable—*lacunæ* in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. We know that Tigg Montague's sleuth, Mr. Nadgett, had a clandestine interview with Mrs. Gamp concerning the perilous babblings of her patient at the "Bull," Holborn; we know that Martin Junior and John Westlock contrived that they should on a certain occasion jointly replace "t' other person" engaged to help her in looking after poor old Chuffey; but we are not present at the interview, nor do we catch a solitary glimpse of her between the time when we leave her in a tipsy slumber in Kingsgate Street till the dramatic moment when she falters forth the magic dissyllable "Harris" in reply to Jonas Chuzzlewit's question as to the name of "the other woman."

Dickens wrote to Forster that he meant to "make a mark" with Mrs. Gamp: he was assuredly as good as his word. But it is a pity that he did not take leave of her, as we prefer to do, tottering down the dark stairs

from Mr. Fips's chambers "in a walking swoon," instead of attempting to resuscitate her, as related in the first chapter of the sixth book of Forster's *Life*. By 1847 she had become nothing but a *zombie*, no more suggestive of the real woman than those rusty garments of hers which, hanging round her tent-bed, suggested to the inflamed imagination of an anxious husband that they "looked like guardian angels a-watching of her in her sleep."

DOROTHY MARGARET STUART, F.R.S.L.

## JERICHO

**J**ERICHO is the oldest and the lowliest city in the world. It lies a few miles north from the Dead Sea, the lowest place on the earth's surface, 1,300 feet below sea level. It is only in the latest years that the secret of its great age has been fully revealed. The Tel of Biblical Jericho, formed by the ruins and debris of generations, had been excavated, for over 40 years before the Second World War, with great thoroughness by English and German expeditions. It had been demonstrated that Jericho was a place of ancient worship of the Moon—in Hebrew *Jerah*, whence its name—and that it had been occupied for centuries by satellites of the Egyptian Pharaohs, from early in the second millennium till the time of the Israelite invasion. The excavations confirmed the record of Egyptian monuments and the Bible. Fragments of a wall, dated by the archaeologists as of the fourteenth or thirteenth century B.C.—which is the accepted period of Israel's conquest of Canaan—showed abundant signs of burning. And after that period there was a long gap in the record of occupation, confirming that the curse put on the site of the destroyed city by Joshua was effective. The Bible story of the siege, the falling walls, and the destruction of the Canaanite town by the Children of Israel after crossing Jordan to conquer the Promised Land, had been strikingly verified.

Yet it was only recently, after Dr. Kathleen Kenyon, daughter of a famous director of the British Museum, had carried out successive seasons of excavations, from 1952, for the Palestine Exploration Fund, that the unexpected and unexampled evidence of a walled city, going back at least to 8000 B.C., and of the varied civilization of the neolithic (the Stone) age, was disclosed. It can be asserted with assurance, in our present state of knowledge of antiquity, that this sheltered spot by a perennial spring—named after the Prophet Elisha—and a fertile oasis in the rift between the mountains of Moab and Gilead and the Wilderness of Judea, was the first town in which man built walls for defence, and established a permanent habitation. The Tel is a history book of 10,000 years read in reverse.

Before the discovery of the original city of Jericho the oldest villages known were in the region of Ur of the Chaldees, part of what is called the Fertile Crescent. The valley between two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, was the seat of a civilization 5000-4000 B.C. Now we have proof that thousands of years earlier, in the much less fertile valley of the Jordan, a primitive race of hunters and cultivators built themselves a permanent shelter against the attack of wild animals or hostile tribes. Their city, situate by the copious fountain, which is still copious, occupied some eight acres. It was 400 yards in length and 200 in breadth, and, it is calculated, would



shelter 3,000 souls. Though they had only implements of stone, they were skilful builders. It was thousands of years before man discovered how to use metals for his service. Yet they built a town wall, still standing, 20 ft. high. At the corner of the wall was a circular stone-built tower, as massive as the bastion of a medieval castle, and within it a stone-cut staircase. In front of the wall they dug a ditch, 30 ft. broad and 8 ft. deep, in the solid rock. The staircase of the tower descended into the heart of the fortress, and at the bottom opened into a passage leading to the town within the wall. It is conjectured that the passage led to the vital water supply. Similar subterranean passages, thousands of years later in date, have been found below the city of Jerusalem and the Canaanite city of Gezer in the Judean foothills.

The walls of Jericho are 2,000 years older than the oldest pyramids of Egypt. They enormously extend in time our picture of human achievement. These first citizens inhabited no mean city. They had houses with regular straight walls made of mud bricks, and plaster floors with a burnished surface. The rooms were built round the courtyard and included storage chambers. The doorways show sockets, which must have had wooden posts, and the floor was covered with rush mats, which survive only as a pattern in the earth, but clear enough to show the weaving of the rushes and the cross-stitches which held them together. Already in that remote age man had the aspiration and the capacity for expression in some form of art. The burial chambers of the most ancient layers of the Jericho Tel contain a number of plastered skulls which were unmistakably designed to be portraits of the dead, and to preserve their features for the family or clan. Part of the plaster was still flesh-coloured, and cowry shells were used for the eyes. One skull bore a painted moustache, though most were clean-shaven. The moulders of the skulls were the first portrait artists. The primitive inhabitants of New Guinea in our day preserve in the same way the likeness of their ancestors.

Above the oldest town wall of Jericho are relics of a later but less advanced civilization. Man had in this later age lighted on the wonderful invention of the potter's wheel, and could make all kinds of vessels. But the art of building had declined. The walls of the second Jericho were less strong, and the bricks of the houses were inferior. In the next period of civilization man advanced another big step. He discovered copper and the art of smelting, and could make implements of bronze. The Early Bronze Age, as it is called, extended in Palestine from 3000-2000 B.C. The mound of Jericho has disclosed no less than 17 walls built during the 1,000 years' period on the ruins of each other. Perhaps earthquake, perhaps invaders from other towns, perhaps nomads were the destroyers.

The next stage of the occupation of Jericho was by a nomad race which has been identified with the Amorites of the Bible. They came from Syria, and invaded the country with other nomadic peoples who are classed together as Canaanites. They were destructive like the hordes of the Scythians, the Huns and the Tartars, who many centuries later burst on the cradles of civilization and wrought havoc. Egypt, which had meantime become a great Power, was beginning to extend her rule over a land that was the highway to the north. For 2,000 years the struggle was waged between the imperial people of the Nile Valley and the warring peoples of

the Valley of the Euphrates, the Sumerians, the Assyrians and the Babylonians. And so we have come to the age of which the events are recorded in the Hebrew Bible. The mound of Jericho was by this time 70 ft. high, the debris having piled up. A street had to be fashioned from the spring to the city on the hill. It was made of cobbled steps, such as have remained the pattern in the walled towns of the Bible land, notably in the Old City of Jerusalem.

It was the age of the Hebrew patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; and Abraham's brother, Lot, dwelt in the Jordan Valley. Miss Kenyon has enriched again our knowledge of the age, its way of life, its arts and crafts, beyond all expectations. She discovered a honeycomb of tombs in the limestone hills around the Tel, and the chambers of the dead give knowledge of the living. The chambers were revealed by another fortunate accident. Some Arab refugees who had fled from the territory of Israel during the war of 1948, and were living in wretched encampments, wished, like their ancestors of 8000 B.C., to make for themselves a more human habitation. Hewing for this purpose the soft limestone in hills near the camp, they struck into a hollow place, and to their amazement saw skeletons laid out in a cave or cutting of the rock. Word of the find came quickly to Miss Kenyon and she started a systematic exploration. Digging on either side of the first cutting she came across many burial chambers with skeletons and skulls. By the pottery found in them they could be dated as of the early centuries of the second millennium. The furniture, the vases and utensils, even food and drink in the chambers, were miraculously preserved. The extraordinary volcanic formation of the Jordan Valley, and the presence in the atmosphere of five times the normal quantity of carbon dioxide, had the effect of an antibiotic like penicillin. Not only the wooden biers, the wooden furniture, the alabaster vessels, the linen wrappings, and the woven mats, but even the meat offerings and the drink offerings, which were placed with the skeletons for their refreshment in the after-life, were almost intact. The women of those ages were already concerned with the adornment of their hair, and amongst the furniture was a table covered with metal and wooden combs and the fragment of a wig.

In other chambers, where the skeletons were laid out neatly, a bronze dagger lay on the ground, and sometimes a bronze fillet, which may have been an emblem of honour. By the woman's skull bronze pins and beads. Occasionally more precious and beautiful ornaments, a gold ring set with amethysts, and wooden boxes inlaid with bone carving. A water pot was in every tomb, often equipped with a dipper jug. In some the reed mat, which covered the skeleton, had disappeared, but the Sherlock Holmes' skill of the archaeologist, master of what is called environmental archaeology, traced the march of the termite ants which had made their way into the chamber and devoured the vegetable matter.

The craftsmanship in the chambers was such as has been found in Egyptian tombs, less splendid, of course, than that of the Kings of Egypt which culminated in the wonders of the tomb of Tut-ankh-amen. But there was evidence from scarabs and signet rings that the Egyptian Pharaohs had their officers in Jericho. In the centuries in which the patriarchs migrated to Canaan and from Canaan to Egypt, they were rulers in the Jordan Valley as well as in the coastal plain of Palestine. The Semitic Dynasty of the



Hyksos, who came from Western Asia and conquered Egypt about 1700, made Jericho a strong fortress. They built a slippery glacis at the side of the mound, and on the top of it a crowning wall. A sign of their presence in Jericho is that some burial chambers contained the heads of horses. That feature is found in Egyptian graves in the Tels around Gaza which cover the ancient Hyksos fortresses. The conquest of the Middle East was won by the use of horse chariots; and they loved their horses as today the Arab sheikhs love them.

The ruined walls in the mound of Jericho show a continuous occupation of the site till 1400 B.C. Then, following the destruction by Joshua and the Children of Israel, there is a long gap. One tomb was found with pottery of the tenth century, the period of David and Solomon. And the Bible tells that in the reign of Ahab, the idolatrous king of Israel, the city was rebuilt. Zedekiah the last king of Judah fled to the plains of Jericho. Yet it was not till the Hellenistic age, 1,000 years from the time of Joshua, that Jericho became again an important place of habitation. Its seductive winter climate and its generous vegetation made it a favoured spot. The later Maccabean princes and the Idumean Herod followed the Greek way of life, and had there a winter palace. The Roman overlords, too, preferred it to bleak and turbulent Jerusalem. Josephus, the Jewish historian of the first century, tells us that Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, coveted its gardens, and received it as a present from her enthralled Mark Antony. But when the Egyptian queen was removed from the scene, Herod marked the place for his own. The palms and the balsam trees—from which comes the balm of Gilead—the fruit orchards and the gardens of Jericho, were famous through the Roman world. Josephus described the place as a paradise on earth.

Of Herod's palace nothing remains, and the mound by the spring was not to be a centre of defence or of habitation till modern times. It was desolate, but the oasis produced by the waters of the spring continued to attract Jew and Gentile. A few miles north-east of the Tel, where another spring bursts out, the site of a Jewish community of the early centuries was revealed by an exploding shell during the First World War, when Allenby's army advanced up the Jordan Valley. The shell exposed the mosaic floor of a large synagogue with the Jewish emblem of the Menora, and with Hebrew inscriptions.

After the Moslem conquest of Palestine by the Arab caliphs, whose capital in the seventh century was at Damascus, the region of Jericho again enjoyed a royal favour. British archaeologists, digging a mound some miles north of the Tel, some 20 years ago, uncovered a palace with fine carving on its walls and equipped with baths and pleasure pavilions. It is amongst the most beautiful buildings in the Holy Land, of which relics have survived, comparable with another famous palace, Meshatta, across Jordan, which was discovered before the First World War by a German expedition. The palace of Mefjir was a winter resort of the sultans who liked to escape from their capital to the free spaces of the Jordan Valley. Their patronage of craftsmen of the subject peoples, Byzantine, Syrian, and Persian, encouraged a flowering of the arts in the eighth century. The date of this palace and the name of the ruler for whom it was built are certain. He was the son of Sultan Abdul Malik, who built in that century the lovely Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem on the site of the Jewish Temple. The palace was

not completed because an earthquake laid it in ruins, and the site was abandoned. The remarkable features of the ruined building are beautiful plasterwork, the use of human and animal figures as part of the architectural decoration, and mosaic floors in perfect preservation. One shows a lemon tree with gazelles and lions, another has a design like a Persian carpet. Many Greek inscriptions have been found amid the ruins; others are in Hebrew and Arabic. Portions of Christian churches which bear the Byzantine cross, and must have been multiplied in the neighbourhood, were used by the builders. Within the grounds of the palace baths were fed by an aqueduct which led down from the Mount of Temptation above Jericho. The grounds also contained a Mosque with the octagon shape of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

The Ommayad dynasty reached its zenith at this time; a few years after the earthquake ruined the palace, the sceptre of Islam passed to other caliphs who made their capital in Baghdad. And Jericho was just a village till our era of archæology restored its fame. Today it is bigger than it has been probably since the time of Herod and Cleopatra. North and south of the old Tel a new township has sprung up since 1948, occupied by the Arab refugees from Western Palestine. They were originally living in tents and huts and were maintained by the United Nations Relief Agency. As the years passed, some of them, as we have seen, built for themselves houses from the limestone in which 4,000 years before the residents of Jericho had cut their tomb chambers. The modern village of Jericho is a winter resort, and has again, as in the days of Herod and the Romans, flowery gardens and avenues of palms. By the spring of Elisha itself, under the Tel, the English archæological team of Miss Kenyon has its home and workshop, and links 10,000 years of human history.

NORMAN BENTWICH

## ELDORADO IN THE SAHARA ?

**D**ARKEST Africa has merged into the continent of dark negations where meet Mau Mau, Apertheid, Kariba, Capricorn, Ghana, Pan-Islam. Perhaps the most hopeful future lies in yesterday's sterile solitudes of the Sahara. Although it remains the most depopulated region of the world after the oceans and the polar regions, the explorer Lhote has shown that once it was a cross-roads of historic migrations. On the margin of the absolute desert Berbers founded a seven-century-long Ghana empire only overwhelmed by the Almoravides whose destructive waves lapped Spain and beyond. The Mandigues built a black empire with a capital at Mali which under Mansa Mousa dazzled in power and legendry. The Carthaginians met Berbers installed in the north where so rooted was Roman conquest that two centuries after Arab invasions people still spoke Latin and were Christian. Arabs called it by its pre-Islamic name, Castilya. A spillover from the Diaspora sent Jews into the Sahara where they founded a lofty culture round Touat and Timentit. Through this Jewish oasis the desert became known to Europe; the word Sahara was first used in the Carlos-Catalan map by the Majorcan Jew, Abraham Cresques. Denou explains that "nature having created the desert repaired its mistake by creating the camel." Camel caravans for combat and commerce filled Sahara's story. Inevitably

European powers established footholds, Portugal at Arguin, Spain at Rio de Oro, Italy even settlements in Tripolitania. France acquired the Sahara in a fit of absence of mind. A gap in the Treaty of Paris left her St. Louis which with captured Algiers proved vantage points from which she created a French Black and White Africa. Irresistably her civilization moved inland by the capture of Langhouat and Tindouf under her conquistadores Duveyrier, Flatters, Flamand, Foureau, Lamy, Cottenset.

While powers were seeking spheres of influence along its periphery, the desert remained uncovered. Even the conquering French were conquered by the sands. As the void could not be colonized they were content to follow the life-modes of the scattered Tourags, Chaamba, Herratin, Teda. Great Saharists like Laperrine and Père de Faucoult could tame peoples, but the sands seemed untameable. War stirred the melancholy wastes. Coal was mined at Kenadsa but native labour, burdened by generations of fatalism, was found to have little stamina. Moreover drawing labour from the oases unbalanced native economy. Of deeper influence was the invasion of the motor car which dethroned the camel. The lorry made camel rearing uneconomic and set even sedentary tribes moving. France further brought concepts of liberty and hunted down slave traders. Slaves had been the fulcrum of Saharan economy; on them depended domestic life, trade, the upkeep of wells, date cultivation. Contrary to the Marxian thesis that slavery ceased because it no longer paid, France imposed an egalitarian ethic. As the centenary of Algiers' capture approached commemorative celebrations hastened development. The explorer Gautier gave a seminal lecture 1929 to the Académie des Sciences, *Le Sahara vaincu : peut-il être dompté* and opened vistas as he outlined techniques for a Transaharan railway. France accepted the challenge of ideas. She established an observatory at Tamanrasset 1932, an Institut at Algiers University to co-ordinate research and the Institut d'Afrique Noire to equip these disinherited regions. Then came the greater shock of a greater war in 1939. Just as Napoleon, faced with the Continental blockade, built Transalpine routes, so Pétain, finding British ships obstacles to African relations, decided in 1941 to build the Transaharan railway to link the Mediterranean to the Niger. But the Herrenvolk lacked fats and began a pipe line to transport ground nuts when the Allies landed. In the post-war world even the railway appeared out of date. Aeroplanes were ideal. The rarity of air currents the large expanse of sands made for security and ease of landing. They broke the ascetic solitudes and linked the desert with the world. Old focal centres, Tripoli and Kano, received a new importance, they increased tribal mobility, and created grave social problems. Sand is gaining on the oases as men leave. The final cause for late development, however, was economic: of what use was it to waste men and money in sand?

From antiquity this mystic crucible had the reputation of being mineral rich Strabo and Pliny reported her wealth. Explorers sought it in vain; even the green stone in prehistoric tombs proved to be amazonite from Dohone. Till the twentieth century the only native-exploited mineral was salt which still dominates south Saharan commerce with traditional centres in Idjill and Taoudenni and the age-old market at Niore. In the north France founded a coal mining industry, but because of blockade and labour difficulties burnt coal underground, on the Donetz model, to transform it into gas. Resurrected

France turned to face realities. Her empire was departing. "Yellow France" had suffered from Japanese occupation and Communist infection. Links with "Black France" were strained by her subservience to the foe. Islamic Africa heard the call of Araby. So discerning minds sought in the Sahara solace for departing greatness, for these sands like others might contain oil. Emile Béline Director of the Niger Office sounded the clarion call 1947. He pointed out that here France was *chez elle*. Even the writ of the UN Charter did not run, for it dealt with populated areas, not with empty spaces. Alone France had pacified the desert, at her expense she maintains security. If developed it would provide opportunities for her children's dynamism. His appeal found sympathetic echoes, and Bernard Simiot arranged a Sahara symposium, in *Hommes et Mondes*. Adherents claimed all and more than did Béline. General Catroux insisted that the Sahara represented a vital strategic platform as cross-roads of important air routes, a key territory with unknown and incalculable resources; Gustave Mercier that France should make of the Sahara a national territory as the USA had of Alaska, for France had so pacified the desert that the traveller is in greater security than on Paris boulevards; Jules Romains, that on the Sahara depended the perennity of French presence in Africa, the prosperity of French economy, the defence of the West. Scientists and engineers followed the prophets. Ambassador Erik Labonne, who had initiated industrialisation, optimistically prophesied that with her potential wealth "the Sahara illumines the future." Emile Roche, President of the Economic Council, did not wish the Sahara to be pointed at as a missed opportunity for French grandeur.

Prospectors grasped their opportunity. Coal, iron, lead, copper, manganese were discovered in the Colomb-Bechar area, a large coalfield in Tindouf, nickel round the Hoggar massif, iron round Fort Gouraud. Especially the search for oil, magnet of the age, was intensified under four main companies; Compagnie de Recherches Pétrolières au Sahara (CREPS), Société Nationale de Recherches et d'Exploitation du Pétrole Algérie (SNREPAL), Compagnie des Pétroles d'Algérie (CPA), Compagnie d'Exploitation Pétrolière (CEP). Finds were magnificent. Oil and gas were located in In Salah, Ghat, Ghadames, Edjele, Tignentourine, Langhouat, Ouarglia. Now parliamentarians followed. In 1952 July tabled a Bill in the Assembly for the creation of a French Sahara, in 1953 Cornet and Schlieter introduced measures in the Assembly of the Union Française, in 1954 Papat promoted a bill to integrate the Sahara into national territory. Edgar Faure, Paul Reynaud, Lipkowski entered the lists. A controversy arose whether to permit the desert to be exploited by a chartered company as suggested by de Lattre. This appeared an abnegation of French faith in herself: and Béline returned to the fray. Eloquently he portrayed the future of a Sahara scientifically exploited. He cited the claim of Longchambon (President of Scientific Research) that solar heat could be converted into energy, of Armand (President of the Atomic Energy Council) that in a quarter of a century solar energy might be used to develop the desert and solar activity acting on artificial chlorophylls to produce foods. The desert redeemed would make for the prosperity of French Eurafrica. He repudiated the despairing cry of Renan to Déroulède, "France is dying. Don't trouble her death pangs." Béline insisted in exhilaration "Viet Nam and Viet Minh can be left to Sino-American rivalries, Black Africa may play with nationalism, North

Africa with Arabism." France had a radiant future as the industrial bridge between Europe and Africa where her science and humanity will flower in splendour. In sober support, Palewski added, the era of continental expansion is closed, colonial venture at an end, while research has vindicated that the desert is a veritable eldorado, representing to France what the NW did to the USA and the Grand North to Canada. Béline returned to show that here no one could point the accusing finger of colonialism, for the area was empty. From all sides, from prophets, scientists, engineers, parliamentarians came the same clamorous appeal. From the Economic Council came the Chervet Report that this former zone of brigandage could be developed into a reservoir of wealth. So the government accepted. In December, 1956, Houphouat-Boigny introduced the measure that created *Organisation Commune des Régions Sahariennes* (O CRS), an industrial TVA for the desert. It was indicative of the changing world that it was introduced by an African, mayor of Abidjan, deputy for the Ivory Coast. Guy Mollet proudly accepted this "grand challenge to our generation" in the miracle of the Sahara. So Roosevelt's dream to see "the Sahara so fertile that the Imperial Valley of California would in comparison appear as a cabbage patch" may be realized and Mollet has brought in a new continent to redress the balance of the old. It may prove the most creative and most abiding tribute to his ministry.

VICTOR COHEN

### MARY WOLLSTONECROFT SHELLEY

**A** HUNDRED years ago a woman died who did as much as any to serve the cause of poetry and idealism and who at the same time involved one of our finest poets in the most lurid scandal. She was Shelley's second wife, Mary. Having in her hands, at the poet's death, all his papers, including many famous poems, then unpublished and being the mother of the heir to the family baronetcy, she was gradually able, with the help of her daughter-in-law, Lady Shelley, to hide the scandal and appear to the world as the poet's Egeria. But recent research has foiled her efforts, and we see Shelley plain in relation to a plainer Mary.

Her mother, Mary Wollstonecroft, who was from Dublin, wrote a treatise on the rights of woman, she was, no doubt, in certain ways in advance of her time, and in certain ways in decided advance of ours: for she began life in total contempt of the marriage vow. When a young woman in Paris she made love to a married man twice her age. She afterwards bore a child to an American named Imlay whom she never married. After this episode in Paris she returned to London, where she became the mistress of William Godwin, a man who, having once been a dissenting minister, had written in a famous treatise on social reform a denunciation of marriage. This, published in 1792, was called *A Vindication of Political Justice*. Nevertheless, when in 1797 Godwin found that Mary Wollstonecroft was now to be the mother of a child of his, he yielded to the system he had denounced, and the child, Mary Wollstonecroft Godwin, was born in wedlock. She was 16½, and lately back from Dundee in a new tartan dress when Shelley met her. He came to her father's house because Godwin wanted to borrow money from Shelley who, though only 21, was heir to a

baronetcy and £10,000 a year. The reason why Shelley was willing to borrow this money for Godwin was that he accepted Godwin's doctrine of free love. Shelley himself had been married for three years, and his wife Harriet was expecting her second baby. But this did not prevent him from ceding to a sudden and desperate passion for Godwin's daughter of 16 in her tartan dress. The old philosopher was strongly opposed to this *liaison*. His first wife had died in giving birth to Mary, and he had married a widow, Mary Jane Clairmont, who though not attractive was impeccably respectable. She had no love for her stepdaughter or for the free ideas of that daughter's mother. She tried to keep the young couple apart. But Mary induced Shelley to meet her at her mother's grave in St. Pancras' Churchyard, and there one June evening she flung herself into his arms. He was overpowered. "The sublime and rapturous moment when she confessed herself mine who had long been hers in secret cannot be painted to mortal imagination," he wrote in prose, and in verse :

Thy lips did meet  
Mine tremblingly; thy dark eyes threw  
Their soft persuasion on my brain.

Just eight months later, on February 22, 1815, Mary became the mother of a child.

Before long Shelley's young wife discovered what had happened. She called on Mrs. Godwin who did all she could to separate Shelley from Mary. But the two eloped to the Lake of Lucerne, and a year later to Geneva. When they returned to London the second time, and a second child had been born to Mary, Harriet in her misery threw herself into the Serpentine. Hardly had her body been discovered than Shelley, at the instance of Mary, married her at the Church of St. Mildred in Bread Street, close to the Bank of England. Her father noted the fact in his diary: "Call on Mildred with P.B.S. and M.W.G. and M.J.\* They dine and sup." Mary would have had us believe that Shelley had now found the perfect companion with whom he lived happily ever after. The truth is far more tragic. She failed to satisfy his intense temperament; a year or two later he left her near Pisa to pay a visit in Venice to Byron who had had a *liaison* with Claire Clairmont, the daughter of Mary Jane Godwin by her first husband. Mary was always jealous of her stepsister who also loved Shelley. When Shelley summoned Mary to follow him to Venice, her baby, having caught an illness during the long drive over the Apennines, died while being taken across the lagoon. At this point Mary herself had a violent physical revulsion from Shelley. He voiced his own tragic reactions in the poem *Julian and Maddalo* :

That you had never seen me—never heard  
My voice, and more than all had ne'er endured  
The deep pollution of my loathed embrace—  
That your eyes had ne'er lied love in my face  
That like some maniac monk I had torn out  
The nerves of manhood by their bleeding root  
With mine own quivering fingers so that ne'er  
Our hearts had for a moment mingled there  
To disunite in horror.

\* M.J.—Mary Jane, Godwin's wife.



For many months they remained alienated. And Shelley wrote his famous *Stanzas Written in Dejection*:

I have nor hope nor health  
Nor peace within, nor calm around.

A few months later their only surviving child, whom they called Willmouse, died in Rome.

It is true that there had meantime been a reconciliation, and that a fourth child, the Percy Florence Shelley who finally inherited the baronetcy, was born that autumn. But Shelley continued to feel both dissatisfaction with Mary and rapture in the presence of other women. To the Italian Emilia Viviani, he wrote the brilliant poem *Epipsychidion* picturing a flight with her to an island of the blue Aegean where they would breathe Elysian air and where he would have their

lips  
With other eloquence than words eclipse  
The soul that burns between them.

Even when he was separated from Emilia Viviani, he felt a violent attraction towards an Englishwoman Jane Cleveland who, after leaving an officer in India, had come to join Shelley's Pisan circle with his friend, Ned Williams: and to her in turn he composed famous lyrics. "Poor Mary," he wrote in a letter, "she can't bear solitude or I society—the quick compassed with the dead."

He found his situation again most poignant, took to laudanum, and even wrote for a dose of prussic acid, while he invoked the approach of his own death in *Adonais*, the classic elegy he wrote on Keats. After days of burning summer at Lerici near Rapallo, he sailed down one afternoon to Pisa to meet Byron and Leigh Hunt. From there he wrote his last letter—to Jane: "How soon those hours have passed, and how slowly they return—so soon to pass again, perhaps for ever; in which we lived together, so intimately, so happily." Four days later he sailed with Ned Williams from Pisa on a sultry afternoon: a storm broke as he was nearing Viareggio and when it cleared no sight of his yacht remained. Mary and Jane had been watching that storm, and then the brilliant weather returned. But she was gripped with the horror of her intuition. After some days she drove with Jane to Pisa. Lord Byron said he knew nothing in tragedy to equal the terror of that face. Mary had recognised her shortcomings. She knew that no one ever dared to mention to Shelley the name of Harriet. With a spirit most rare she herself had been conventional, with a tender lover who once found in her embrace paradise; she had become petulant and chill; she had not really understood or appreciated him. But his death filled her with a thousand regrets. There was only one way to make her remorse endurable. She must give his poems to the world and depict him as a paragon. She loved him as a ghost, as she had long ceased to love him in flesh and blood. She had written in Geneva her famous novel *Frankenstein* which has given a new word to our language. But in her novels she was what a friend called "a hurricane in petticoats" compared to what she wrote of her dead husband. When in 1839 she published a full edition of his poems with copious personal notes, the effect was admiration. Mary in presenting him and rescuing many a lyric masterpiece vindicated herself. In time to come, her daughter-in-law, with the help of the great scholar,

Dowden, did all she could to credit her and her father with virtues that they lacked. But the true story of both Mary Shelley and her husband is far more tragic and more telling than the one which for a hundred years she foisted on the world.

ROBERT SENCOURT

## INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA

THE industrial development of China since the inauguration of the Communist régime has brought about one of the most arresting changes in the thought and action of the millions of Chinese people. From an almost entirely farming and trading community they are being transformed into an industrial society of Communist workers wholly subordinated to the pressing demands for production of commodity goods both for home consumption as well as for export, thereby expanding trade with foreign countries. Nor is this all. The expansion of the Chinese armies, air force and naval units has demanded the construction of vast factories in Manchuria with their many thousands of workers all under Soviet supervision by thousands of Russian experts and technicians. The Chinese Government have recognized that one of the most pressing needs for this incursion into the realm of industrialization is the production of cheap and widely distributed power for factory and agriculture. In this respect China is fortunate in possessing practically unlimited resources of potential hydro-electric power in her numerous rivers. Until modern methods had superseded the ancient régime, rivers in China were regarded with apprehension as the cause of terrible loss of life and property. Now, however, thanks to Russian drive and initiative, these mighty rivers will be harnessed and made to perform their share in the industrial development of the country. In place of devastation they will be harnessed to hydro-electric undertakings of great magnitude which, when in full production, will provide the source of live-saving products in the way of increases and improved agricultural methods and food production side by side with cheap power for factories. Thus in time the semi-starvation in which countless millions of Chinese eke out a bare existence will be a thing of the past, while increased factory products will provide constant employment for many thousands of workers. And so the transformation of an agricultural population to a nation of industrial workers will become a reality in much the same way as farm workers a little over a century ago in England left the farms for better-paid work in the mills. Development of hydro-electric power is still in its infancy but proposals have been made to build stations along the Yellow River. Several thermo-power units will be built or enlarged at various centres. The largest pre-war hydro-electric plant was at the Futzeling Dam station completed in 1954 built across the Pi River, a tributary of the Huai. The work was commenced in 1952 and employed 10,000 men. It was designed for the purpose of flood control, power, and irrigation. In 1955 the Kwangting Reservoir Plant commenced working, built on the Yungting River near Peking and using turbo-generating sets made by the Harbin Electrical Machinery Plant. Another plant, the Kutien Sation, 60 miles north of Foochow, has commenced the supply of power



to industrial installations. The biggest plant in South-West China will be the Shihzetan Station, about 50 miles downstream from Chungting, which will provide power for Chungking, which is rapidly becoming an important industrial centre. The water for driving the turbines will be led through a mile-long tunnel cut through the mountains.

A new Soviet-Chinese trade agreement has been signed providing for aid to the Chinese Peoples' Republic for the contribution of new electrical power stations, and providing equipment for the metallurgical, mining, machinery, chemical and electric power industries. Russia also undertakes to supply China with agricultural machinery, pedigree cattle, and seeds. In return China will supply light metals, rice, wool, tea, tobacco, fruit, silk, and leather goods. In spite of the great assistance both in supplies and technical advisers from Russia, there are unmistakable signs since the Korean War of widespread anti-Communist sentiment among the mass of the Chinese people. One of the reasons for this anti-Communist feeling may lie in the failure of the expected benefits from Communist rule which the people have been led to expect, but have not so far been realized. The principal reason may be the shortage of food resultant from the export of 270,000 tons of rice to Ceylon in exchange for 50,000 tons of rubber. To judge by the present policy of the Chinese Government, it seems that they are determined to transform the country into a military and industrial Power regardless of cost. To effect this object, enormous quantities of raw materials must be imported from abroad. At the same time the natural resources of the country are being exploited by teams of experts both Chinese and Russian. They are surveying the country for oil and, as a result of their research, new oilfields have been discovered in Singkiang. In 1955 it was decided to build a big refinery at Aqsu (Akosa) in Singkiang. Test drillings are now being carried out in various districts and existing oilfields are being developed.

In the last two years China has entered the light industry export market. Singapore textile importers are forming a pool to purchase \$6 million worth of Chinese textiles a year destined for Indonesian markets as well as Malaya. It is claimed that China has great advantages, viz.: orders are discharged promptly and prices are competitive, sometimes lower than Japanese prices, and the goods find a ready market. Delivery is more regular and the quality of the goods is superior to pre-war years. Other light industries include radios, sewing machine and bicycles, paper for India and cheap fountain-pens for South-East Asia. Many other items, such as shirts, canned foods, steel window frames and chemicals, together with electrical goods and small-sized machinery, are also offered. Chinese rosin goes to England, Italy and Germany. Light industry is to be pushed still further and will include cigarettes, perfumes, glassware and many other items. An immense factory for the production of motor vehicles has been established at Chungkiang in Manchuria and a yearly output of some 30,000 vehicles is planned. Most of the technicians are Chinese who have been trained in Russia. Two more factories are planned which will increase production to 120,000 vehicles a year. Steel mills have been constructed in Anshan in addition to two more at Wuhan and Paotow. A second automobile plant with a capacity of 60,000 vehicles is projected for 1957, and a tractor plant, already constructed, will supply 15,000 54 h.p. tractors a

year when completed. This supply of tractors is necessary for collective farms. In 1950 there were only 36 State mechanized farms with just over 1,100 tractors, but in 1956 the number had risen to 152 farms with 11,192 tractors. Many of the drivers of the tractors are demobilized soldiers who have driven tanks and lorries. Most of the tractors are used for reclamation of virgin soil and the cultivation of wheat and cotton in the north-east of China.

The trade and production of the country has been appropriated by the various ministries which work in close co-operation with each other—food, trade, agriculture and so forth. The Ministry of Commerce operates some 20,000 trading agencies ranging from State stores to the district and provincial branches, which are linked in turn with the local co-operatives. Between them they handle 80 per cent of the wholesale trade. A high degree of quality is insisted on, and inspection is enforced. Merchants and small capitalists are, however, allowed to trade provided that their activity fits into the general scheme of advance. The Government are trying to keep the land in the hands of the larger peasants. The whole operation of land reform has been handed over to the farmers' committees in the villages.

The Chinese railways have received great attention, the repair of damaged lines receiving the major share of the present outlay. New lines, several of them linking up with the main Peking-Russian lines, have been constructed or are in process of construction. New lines will be constructed to serve Outer Mongolia and the Mukden-Harbin line is being duplicated, which will relieve congestion on the Trans-Siberian railway system. A new line is now under construction between Lan Chow and Urumchi, the capital of Singkiang, and Alma Ata in the U.S.S.R. Singkiang provides Russia with oil, iron, besides gold, silver and other minerals. Manchuria is being developed to an enormous extent so as to provide foodstuffs, coal, iron ore, with factories for chemicals, textiles and consumer goods. Industrial development has been largely encouraged by American financial and technical assistance. The industrial capabilities of Manchuria were developed to a great extent by the Japanese, but after the war the Russians removed much of the factory machinery to Russia. Soviet financial and commercial agencies purchased much of the Japanese and civilian properties in Manchuria, and thus obtained and still retain a substantial grip on the economic life of the country. Holdings of rich farmers were confiscated with the result that much of the land has gone out of cultivation and food production has decreased. The Chinese Government made an agreement with the Soviet to export foodstuffs and raw materials to Russia in exchange for industrial equipment and manufactured goods. Priority is now being given to industrial reconstruction and expansion. Failure of the Government to restrict large sections of capitalist industry and commerce has been admitted by officials. The Government system of supply of raw materials against an undertaking to purchase the finished articles has resulted in indifferent quality as well as a shortage in some districts and overstocking in others. Factories will now be allowed to purchase their own raw materials and to sell their own products except products essential to national economy. They will be allowed to fix their own plans according to market needs and will not be restricted by State plan targets. Grain, cloth and other essential consumer goods will be purchased and marketed only by the State. H. E. CROCKER

## THE NEW MENTAL HEALTH PLAN

**O**F the 486,000 beds now available in National Health Service hospitals 216,000 are occupied by patients suffering from mental illness or mental defect. Every year more than 100,000 new patients attend the psychiatric outpatient clinics. At least one of every 32 babies is destined to spend part of his or her life in a mental hospital or mental deficiency institution. Such are the inescapable facts which cloud and dominate the picture of contemporary living. From a mental illness (whether it be called a nervous breakdown or a psychotic condition) none can consider themselves immune. For this reason the proper treatment of mental illness and the consequential restriction of liberty which such treatment may impose are not merely matters of public interest but matters which may at any time become of immediate and vital importance to any member of the community. A survey of the early history of the treatment of the mentally ill discloses a predominance of the idea of detention. Intolerant of the abnormal and seeking protection against the aberrations of those unable to conform to the accepted code of social conduct, in the past society placed the emphasis on community safeguards. It is for this reason that the existing Lunacy code bristles with such words as "removal," "detention," "restraint" and "control." During the past 30 years, however, there has been a gradual revision of attitude towards those who are mentally ill and, whereas the keynote of the past was detention, today the medical and social emphasis has rightly been shifted to prevention and treatment. Nevertheless, in order to secure hospital inpatient treatment for those who are so mentally ill as to be incapable of expressing their wishes, the legislative tools and procedures that must be used continue to be those which were forged in the late nineteenth century.

Included amongst the outmoded procedures of the still operative Lunacy Act, 1890, is that of "certification"; during 1955 18,000 mentally ill patients were subjected to this process of law, the total number of "certified" patients at present detained being 66 per cent of the total. The process involves the issue of a certificate, based on observed facts, by a medical practitioner to the effect that the patient "is a person of unsound mind and a proper person to be taken charge of and detained under care and treatment": it also necessitates the patient being orally examined by a Justice of the Peace upon whose written order the patient is deprived of his personal liberty and compulsorily removed to a mental hospital. Because of the part that the Justice plays in the procedure (thereby mistakenly, but nevertheless undeniably, colouring it with a punitive tint), "certification" has for long been the target of criticism. During recent years magazine articles and radio and television features have added fuel to the fire of public disapproval.

In 1924, recognizing that the legal machinery established in 1890 might conceivably lag behind the advances in the fields of psychiatry and treatment methods, the Government appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole field of mental illness; its main task was to consider the extent to which provision might be made for treatment without having recourse to "certification." Reporting in 1926, the Commission made a considerable number of recommendations, chief amongst which were that two new

admission procedures might be established catering (a) for those who were prepared to accept inpatient treatment voluntarily and (b) for those so mentally incapable as to be considered non-volitional. On the question of "certification," however, the Royal Commission was hesitant to make any recommendation involving its abolition—many paragraphs in its report were devoted to a reasoned dissertation on the legal issues involved. Said the Commissioners: "It is a principle of English law that the liberty of the subject may not be infringed without the intervention of some judicial authority; and we doubt whether public opinion is ready to countenance a departure from it."

Despite the inability of the 1924 Royal Commission to recommend that the "certification" procedure should be expunged from the statute book, it made the significant statement that "it may be that, ultimately, the treatment of mental illness will be so assimilated to the treatment of physical illness that the participation of a magistrate will no longer be considered necessary." In the light of the recently issued report of the 1954 Royal Commission (also established to consider, *inter alia*, alternatives to the process of "certification"), the statement was prophetic. Foremost amongst the recommendations now made is the complete repeal of the 1890 legislation and, with it, the abolition of the procedural function allotted to the magistrate. If, as is anticipated, the Royal Commission recommendations are translated into law in 1959, all future admissions will be by way of application supported by medical recommendations.

Not merely an interesting document and a masterly survey, the report of the 1954 Royal Commission may well have for the mentally ill a significance equal to that which the Beveridge report had for the community as a whole in the field of social insurance. For the first time in the country's social history, it relates mental illness to its proper medical setting; and in emphasizing that illness of the mind is as much a national concern as illnesses of the body, the report suggests a complete reorientation, amounting almost to a revolution, not merely of procedure but, more important, of approach. "We recommend that the law should be altered so that, whenever possible, suitable care may be provided for mentally disordered patients with no more restriction of liberty or legal formality than is applied to people who need care because of other types of illness, disability or social difficulty." On this declaration, simply worded but legally revolutionary, is based the whole plan. Commencing with the patients themselves, the present terminologies (often hurtful both to relatives and to the sufferers themselves) would disappear. Instead of the legalistic terms of "persons of unsound mind," "idiots," "imbeciles," etc., such more correct medical phrases as "mentally ill patients," "psychopathic patients" and "patients of severely sub-normal personality" would be used. Besides the inclusion of those defectives now classified as feeble-minded or morally defective on the grounds of lack of intelligence, the psychopathic group is also intended to extend to those whose personalities from a pathological point of view are considered to be so aggressive or inadequate as to render their actions anti-social; for the first time in medico-legal history, the fact that psychopathy can have its origins in a social environment or can develop after the existing mental defective limit of 18 years of age is taken into account. If the recommendation is accepted, the result might well be that the problem

of adolescent delinquency will be tackled from a psychological preventive, rather than a punitive angle.

The plan envisages that all forms of hospital and community care will be available to those who are content to receive them without the use of compulsory procedures or formal ascertainment. Those who cannot make a valid positive application for admission to hospital would no longer be subjected to compulsory removal procedures; instead, unless positively objecting, they would be assumed to be content to enter hospital. Of particular importance is this new principle to that large group of elderly senile patients who, because they are mentally incapable of signing a voluntary admission document under the present procedures, now have to be subjected to judicial "certification." For those now known as mental defectives and for whom there is at present no provision in law for informal admission without statutory ascertainment and cumbersome legal procedure, the new principle is no less important. In direct contrast to what at present applies, no patient admitted informally would be required to sign an admission form nor would there be any obstacles placed in the way if discharge from hospital was requested. The whole idea behind the suggested informal admission method is to give to mentally ill persons the same rights and privileges as are accorded to hospital patients suffering from physical illnesses.

Realistically the Commission recognises that, in certain circumstances and particularly where the welfare of the patient or the safety of the community is at stake, care and treatment must continue to be provided by compulsion. Of the two main procedures recommended, the more important would enable a relative or mental welfare officer to complete an application form on the strength of two medical recommendations, one of which would have to be given by a doctor specially experienced in the diagnosis or treatment of mental disorders. The initial period of detention in hospital would be for a period up to 28 days. In an emergency, such as when a patient is threatening suicide or homicide, a period of 72 hours detention would be possible on an application supported by one medical recommendation only. Hospitals (not necessarily those at present designated as mental hospitals) would be free to admit any patient for whom they can provide suitable treatment.

In stating the view that reference to a magistrate at the time of admission does not, under present conditions, provide a very strong safeguard against illegal removal, the Commission has suggested that much stronger safeguards would be provided (a) by requiring more than one medical opinion, (b) by the setting up of new Mental Health Review Tribunals whose task it would be to give patients and relatives opportunities for independent investigation into the use of compulsion, and (c) by extending the powers of discharge. In addition to the Minister of Health, the Mental Health Review Tribunal and the Hospital Authority, powers of discharge would also be held by the medical superintendent of the hospital and the patient's nearest relative. Unless renewed by the Hospital Authority on the recommendation of the medical superintendent, compulsory powers would expire after fixed periods. All patients would have access to the Mental Health Review Tribunals at any time within six months after admission or whenever the period of validity of the compulsory powers is extended.

In that part of the report which deals with the administrative organization of the mental health services, a considerable expansion of the local authority health and welfare services is envisaged. Instead of the Board of Control (whose abolition is recommended), the Ministry of Health would assume inspectorate and other responsibilities. The recommended division of functions at operational level is that the hospitals should provide all inpatient and outpatient services, leaving it to the local authorities to organize and supervise preventive and community care services, including social work and after-care. The provision of day or residential training centres for severely sub-normal children; the setting up of training or occupation centres and social centres for adult patients; the provision of residential hostels for old people suffering from mild mental infirmities; the organization of a general social help and advice service—all such are indicative of the new emphasis on the importance of community, as distinct from hospital, care. So strongly does the Royal Commission feel on the subject that the Minister of Health is urged to issue a directive making it a positive duty of the local authorities to provide such services as have been mentioned.

Whether or not all the conclusions and recommendations of the 1954 Royal Commission will secure Parliamentary acceptance, the fact cannot be denied that the new mental health plan is an imaginative and bold attempt to relate the problem of mental illness to realities. At the present time those responsible for the administration of our mental health services are frustrated and hampered by trying to deal with the problems of today with the machinery of yesterday. What the Royal Commission has sought to do has been to offer a type of organization contemporary both in outlook and apparatus; it is in the light of the known present-day needs that the proposals must be examined not only by the legislators but by the community as a whole.

ALFRED H. HAYNES

### CEYLON'S PROBLEMS

**E**CONOMICALLY Ceylon is dependent on the plantation "industries." Tea, rubber, and coconut provide over 95 per cent of her export trade, tea alone accounting for over 60 per cent of this. Correspondingly, Ceylon is at the mercy of any shift in world prices for these products, in all three the market being extremely competitive. State income is also largely tied to these industries, over 60 per cent of this alone coming from import and export duties. Thus in the economic field the main problem is lessening dependence on these crops. A research team is inquiring into the possible creation of an iron and steel industry, and—through the Colombo Plan—the island is at present being photographically surveyed. As seems to have been generally realized throughout S.E. Asia, all development programmes must be preceded by an accurate evaluation of the potentialities of land, forest, water, and mineral resources. Paper, fertilizer, and chemical factories have been opened, and plans are in hand to open at least two other cement factories to make Ceylon self-sufficient in that sphere. Self-sufficiency in rice, also a primary objective, is still in the discussion stage. Ilmenite deposits, reputed to be amongst the best in the world, have been found, and a factory for its processing is now nearing completion.



These economic problems are complicated by much under-employment in the countryside where one man can have up to three families dependent on his efforts. This is likely to increase as the practical effects of the political decision to close down the U.K. bases in Ceylon, on which at present 10,000 people depend for their livelihood, are felt. Registered unemployment is now in the six-figure region; actual unemployment is most likely three or four times as high. Add to this the grave shortage of housing (at present over 200,000 houses are needed), lack of school places (one child in five cannot get admission), a birth rate increase of three per cent per annum which will take the population well over the 10 million mark by 1960; and a long-standing shortage of hospital space. One does not envy the Government of Ceylon. Part of the answer is to be found in an increase of revenue; and Ceylon is now increasing duties generally with a vengeance. Unfortunately, one of the results has been a quickening of the inflationary spiral which the Government thought it could control. Wiser governments than the present one have made this mistake in the past. Examples of recent duties are to be found in the following: a car costing £1,300 to £1,400 in England—tax inclusive—would cost nearly £2,000 in Ceylon, this if it came in "preferential." Income, profits, company taxes, and estate duty have all been raised.

Politically the present Government is in the middle of a leftward swing which it can do little to control. Its problems have also been complicated by electoral promises affecting the status of the largest minority—the indigenous Tamils—which they refused to accept. In April, 1956, Mr. Bandaranaike's coalition, the M.E.P. consisting of two main groups (Mr. Bandaranaike's own S.L.F.P. and the "new" Trotskyite party under the leadership of Phillip Gunewardene) was returned to power in a dramatic general election which nearly extinguished the then Government party, the United National party, which had been in office since independence was gained in 1947. The M.E.P.'s main electoral plank—outside general dissatisfaction with the progress in general economic development and complaints of the rising cost of living—was twofold: that Sinhalese should be the only official language and Buddhism the state religion. The Tamils, on whom these proposals would have the most disruptive effect, are a close-knit, business-like and prosperous community, mainly found in the dry, arid, Northern Province, their original home. For the past three or four centuries they have lived in racial harmony with the Sinhalese; and ever since the European conquest of Ceylon, with its unifying influence, the two peoples and languages have existed in conditions of near equality. Of all the countries of Asia Ceylon had been the most free of inter-racial strife. It was unfortunate for the Tamils that, generally speaking, they were more prosperous and "advanced" than the Sinhalese, as Sinhalese complainants could and did point to a community which, though outnumbered six to one, yet still managed to fill over 45 per cent of the places in Government service (including the three Armed Forces' Chiefs of Staffs); and whose religious establishments—mainly Hindu or Christian—were both thriving and prosperous, in contrast to those of the predominantly Sinhalese Buddhists. All this added up to a perfect scapegoat for Sinhalese extremists. Tamil reactions were fast and sharp. Before 1956 Tamil M.P.s were spread over the profusion of parties. After the election it was found that the Tamil



Federal Party had swept the board in Tamil areas and had over 90 per cent of the total Family representation.

Practically the first move of the present Government was the Sinhalese Language Bill, passed in a closed House under the protection of the armed forces whilst extremists of both sides rioted outside. The result was that the Tamil Federalists planned a Sathyagraha or civil disobedience campaign, which they announced would commence on August 20, 1957, unless Tamil was reinstated by then. Pressure by each side included the raising of private armies of so-called "volunteers," and the restriction of travel and passports. In March the Prime Minister made a face-saving attempt at settling the dispute by bringing forward a three-point plan, for the reasonable use of Tamil within the framework of the Official Language Act. Since this only allows for a transitional period this did not satisfy Tamil leaders and the campaign redoubled in intensity. A series of private meetings started in June has since resulted in an agreement that Tamil shall be recognized as a minority language. It remains to be seen how this will be implemented. If "minority" means what it says, Ceylon—as experience has shown in other countries—can expect further troubles at a later date. If, however, "minority" is a face-saving term, and equality is conceded in practice; then some semblance of communal harmony is possible for many years to come. Two other problems bedevil the political scene. One, the *other* Tamil problem; represented this time by over a million Indian Tamils, descendants of the indentured labour originally brought in to work on the plantations, and on whom Ceylon's economy still depends. The majority being descendants of families which have been in Ceylon up to a hundred years, it is not unreasonable for India to ask that they be made citizens. The problems, however, are formidable, as they have tended to remain very Indian and not easily assimilable.

The stability of Ceylon; both internal and external, is very much in doubt. Mr. Bandaranaike's allies are not exactly his best friends, and this electoral marriage of convenience shows signs of breaking down. They seem to lose no opportunity of creating dissatisfaction, both within the Government and outside, and it would be foolish to suppose that their leader is ignorant of what is going on. Judging by some pronouncements, one is led to think that Mr. Bandaranaike must spend a lot of time being a spectator within his own Cabinet. In foreign policy the line of non-alignment daily grows more xenophobic and more suitable to a Communist satellite. The recent decision to appoint a new delegate to the United Nations as the present one signed the U.N. report on Hungary—bitterly attacked by members of the Government party both in the Cabinet and at a parliamentary group meeting—is a case in point. This was also attacked by the Communist leader Pieter Keuneman in terms interchangeable with those of the Government's supporters. The Speech from the Throne at the beginning of the current parliamentary session contained the following words: "The international trade policy of the Government will be closely related to its foreign policy." One has the impression that the present Indian Government, whilst perhaps approving, in theory, may not approve in practice of anything resembling someone else's satellite within its own sphere of influence and so close to its borders.

REX A. MALIK

## THOMAS TELFORD : ROADMAKER AND ENGINEER

**A**MONG the anniversaries worthy of celebration in 1957 the bicentenary of birth of Thomas Telford calls for some re-assessment or new treatment of his striking achievements. While his work as road-builder, creator of "A5" and as one who opened up the Highlands with more than 700 miles of roads and more than a thousand bridges, is well chronicled; or while his genius in constructing the Caledonian Canal and other waterways, his surveying of rivers, his planning of locks, harbours and piers, have all been fully dealt with by biographers, one or two important aspects of his work call for study in the light of today. In times when the call is for many technologists, skilled yet with a broader humane outlook, one can find a first-rate example in Telford. He read much and wrote a little verse, and had sufficient interest in antiquities to save Uriconium from disappearing at the hands of farmers seeking building-stone. Moreover, his love of chemistry and his association with academic chemists served not only his dependence on cement and iron, but proved his wider vision, wider far than would be expected of an engineer and builder of his days. But even more striking was his bold use of iron, of his "best Shropshire hammered iron" and cast-iron used for bridges culminating in the Menai masterpiece; and for his amazing Pont-y-Cysylltau aqueduct which after 150 years of weathering still stands high above the Vale of Llangollen, a thousand feet of iron trough or waterway as solid as ever and simply asking to be preserved as national memento. The history of iron, "the mainspring of civilized society" as early writers called it, should not be written without a prominent chapter based on Telford's calling on ironmasters such as Hazledine to produce vast numbers of iron parts from such unlikely places as "the Forge" at Upton-on-Severn, now a farmhouse in the rural scene.

In summarizing Telford's beginnings the biographer could hardly fail to paint an absorbing picture. The shepherd's son who became the most eminent civil engineer of his time, who became president of the Institution of Civil Engineers he helped to create: such is the theme in which this Scot came to his full stature at the opening of last century, when crazes for canals and the urge to develop transport were in full spate. From Edinburgh as a young mason he was off to London at 24 to widen his experience and help to build Somerset House. But the move to Shropshire in 1786 was paramount; a move which brought him every advantage and made Telford the man. His employer Pulteney had the whim or sudden inspiration to bring Telford to Shrewsbury, to a starting-ground from which he accomplished far greater things than in his work in London or at the Portsmouth dockyard. In Shropshire "swift Severn's flood," to borrow Shakespeare's words, was ever bringing down bridges and offering much opportunity for a planner to improve matters. At Shrewsbury itself the collapse of St. Chad's church, "forming a magnificent ruin which astonished the inhabitants," proved Telford's predictions and set him in the public eye, with confidence in his powers which Pulteney had so well shown. He became Surveyor of Public Works for the county, began his bridge-building with Mountford Bridge four miles west of the town, and went on to build 42 bridges in that period, five of them in iron. Further, he recognized the worth of men who were craftsmen able to carry his bold plans into practice; men like Matthew

Davidson, master mason of Langholm whose bicentenary last year passed unnoticed. It was this felicitous partnership with Davidson, in building bridges and in constructing the great Chirk and Pont-y-Cysylltau aqueducts as well as the Caledonian Canal, which contributed so much to Telford's success. And it was in his great Shropshire period that he developed those two phases to his career: the appreciation of knowledge far beyond his engineering and building, and his pioneering of iron as constructional material, a vigorous application now seen as decisive in advancing from that first iron bridge tentatively built by others at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire.

It was at Shrewsbury that Telford widened his outlook and avoided the narrow specialization one would have expected of an engineer and surveyor of highways. He did not see why a man should be less efficient in industry because he "humanized his mind by the cultivation of letters" as Samuel Smiles put it. One makes no special claims for his verse; for while Humphry Davy among scientists and Telford among technically-minded men are at times given as examples of this dual rôle in life, the two rôles are poles apart in their quality. On the other hand Telford set about broadening his knowledge of science with real success. "As knowledge is my most ardent pursuit, a thousand things occur which call for investigation which would pass unnoticed by those who are content to trudge only in the beaten path. I am not contented unless I can give a reason for every particular method or practice which is pursued." So wrote Telford in studying "mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics and all manner of stuff" as he put it. He practised temperate habits, avoiding excess eating, and read the classic lectures and the "Experiments of Magnesia and Quicklime" of Dr. Black, Scottish professor of chemistry, these in addition to such other classics as the essays of Fourcroy and Scheele. "Having in pursuit of this inquiry (into making mortar) looked into some books on chemistry, I perceived the field was boundless; but that to assign satisfactory reasons for many mechanical processes required a general knowledge of that science." Telford is thus seen as the one-time mason turned science student at Shrewsbury, where he was to become intimate friend of Dr. Darwin, son of the famous author of "The Botanic Garden." Later, too, he refers to his being "often with Brodie and Black, each the first in his profession"; but we do not hear of him joining the "Animal Chemistry Club" which Brodie, Davy and others formed ostensibly to discuss researches in physiological chemistry. One further significant result of Telford being "chemistry mad" as he called it, was that he himself was able to test the iron samples to be used to build the Menai Bridge.

In his Shropshire period Telford began his great use of iron to construct first bridges, then his thousand foot aqueduct, and later his suspension bridges at Conway and Menai. At Buildwas on the Severn an old stone bridge of several arches had collapsed in 1795 in the powerful floods. Here it was that Telford took the decisive step to rebuild in iron, in a single span of 130 ft., a bridge 30 ft. wider than the world's first iron bridge at Coalbrookdale yet using 173 tons of iron in place of 378 tons. It will be recalled that Shropshire was in her heyday as leader of the iron industry, with coal and iron ore to hand and with the nearby Black Country literally forging ahead. In 1757, as if to salute the birth of a great user of iron, John Wilkinson started up his first blast-furnace at Bilston, an event which has now been

commemorated with a memorial plaque placed on the spot. Wilkinson was connected with the Coalbrookdale iron forges; and the iron bridge at Coalbrookdale forms a link with Telford working in Shropshire. Telford in his Buildwas bridge departed from the original plan of the Coalbrookdale ironmasters, yet his bold ideas proved successful. After the French had thought of iron as bridge-building material and had actually assembled iron sections in a builder's yard at Lyons before courage deserted them, the circular-span iron bridge had made history in Shropshire. But from this point it was Telford who carried on the theme, first at Buildwas, then with four further iron bridges in the county, and on to his giant structures over the Dee and over the Menai Straits. Telford was a contemporary of Trevithick; and while Trevithick was also busy in developing iron applications also in Shropshire—at Bridgnorth where all Trevithick's important engines were constructed in Hazledine's foundry—further up the Severn Telford was relying on Hazledine's brother, ironmaster who had foundries in the Vale of Llangollen as well as a number in Shropshire itself.

In 1795 Telford began his great work, the building of his aqueduct carrying his branch of the Ellesmere Canal high over the Welsh Dee in a thousand-foot long trough of iron. At Longdon-on-Tern he had built a moderate-sized iron aqueduct to carry his Shrewsbury canal over the Tern. But this was a pilot project compared with the cast-iron waterway carried on 19 tall pillars over the Dee and within a short distance of Telford's Holyhead Road. In those seventeen-nineties came an age or rage for canals, with Shropshire well to the fore following the Canal Bills of that period. Such was the enthusiasm for the proposed Welsh section of the Shropshire Union Canal that investors raised £956,700 towards it at the first meeting, with thousands turned away. In his wisdom John Wilkinson serving on the managing body had chosen "Thomas Telford, Architect" for the post of engineer to the project. Telford justified the choice with his bold plan leading to the success expected of the Scottish genius in his heyday. To carry his canal high over the 2,500 ft. width of the Dee valley he constructed an embankment of 1,500 ft. and completed the span with what Walter Scott in his enthusiasm called "the most impressive work of art he had ever seen"; with 19 arches of Shropshire iron from Hazledine's foundry supporting the long iron trough. It was a masterpiece of the time, for Telford foresaw how iron would be lighter for the great masonry pillars than would have been the necessary puddle-clay bed over masonry for water-tightness. On November 26, 1805, came completion, with success celebrated with cannons firing a salute, the guns being from the capture of Seringapatam. Flags were flying, "the whole valley of Llangollen laughed and sang at this stupendous work of human ingenuity, at this proud day for Mr. Telford." A procession of boats on the waterway high in the sky, with a band playing on board, was typical of those days; while a poet rounded off the occasion by saluting:

Telford, who o'er the vale of Cambrian Dee,  
Aloft in air, at giddy height upborne,  
Carried his navigable road.

Today, a century and a half after the junketings, the great aqueduct stands firm, with its towpath "on sufferance only" providing a short cut to Ruabon.

Although on the occasion of his bicentenary Telford's many

canals, roads and hundreds of bridges will be duly listed in the eulogies, the less-publicized yet essential rôle he played in the history of iron development or application may be rounded off by a few points on his Menai Bridge. With the Bessemer and Siemens-Martin steel-making processes more than a century away, wrought-iron was the sole material for a great suspension bridge. Bearing in mind the sweat and toil needed to produce moderate sections of such iron, and bearing in mind the standard reached in 1820 in erecting giant structures when appropriate cranes and derricks were unknown, the success attained was as breath-taking from the metallurgical and engineering point of view as anything depicted by the prolific Samuel Smiles. Imagine 2,187 tons of iron in 33,265 pieces; 16 main suspension chains each of 36 bars of wrought-iron of square section so placed together as to make a four-inch square section chain, all welded together and bound around. All stones of the two great piers were firmly bound with iron dowels, while to anchor the great chains into the rock huge iron frames were grafted. Telford had made several hundred tests on the tenacity of Hazledine's Shropshire bar iron fashioned in the Plas Kynaston foundry a few miles away, while carrying out further large-scale experiments on suspension engineering in a valley in Anglesea. By April, 1825, the immense chains were ready for lifting above the Menai Straits, with 150 labourers manning two giant capstans. "Round went the men and steadily and safely rose the ponderous chains." By January 30, 1826, the Holyhead Mail passed over a bridge which, for its period and considering the state of engineering, surpasses Golden Gate, Sydney Harbour bridge and others of modern steel. All his periods of river navigation, of dock and harbour construction, of road and bridge-building came to an end in 1834, the year when he almost literally died in harness.

MAURICE SCHOFIELD.

### WALLIS BUDGE: ORIENTALIST

ERNEST ARTHUR WALLIS BUDGE, the centenary of whose birth falls this year, stands out as perhaps the most colourful representative of a type of omnivorous scholar, common enough at the end of the last century, but now a thing of the past. A latter-day survival of the medieval polymath, an orientalist of vast scope and insatiable curiosity, Budge cast his net wide, and ranged over the whole field of near eastern studies, both linguistic and archaeological, without any of that disproportionate specialization which is the lot of the scholar today. In the years between the academic atmosphere has changed, and the emergence of higher standards of scholarship, together with the increase in the fund of knowledge to be assimilated, compels the student to confine his attentions primarily to one branch of the study.

Budge was born on July 27, 1857, into a world in which interest in the nearer orient was growing steadily. He came of a family with connections in eastern trading, and passed his early years in an atmosphere permeated by oriental influences. At school in 1865 the young Budge soon inclined to Hebrew of his own accord; interested, his teachers took him to see Seager

who advised that he should make a start on Syriac, and a meeting was later arranged with Samuel Birch, the doyen of English Egyptology. In 1878 he went up to Cambridge as a non-collegiate student, his arrival coinciding with the appearance of his first publication, a Sennacherib text. The following year he was admitted to Christ's College, where he was given an exhibition in Assyriology and was Hebrew prizeman. In 1882 he won the Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship, and in the same year took his Tripos, in which he was unfortunate in only gaining a second class. This lapse was probably due to his innate desire for speed rather than perfection, a characteristic which remained with him all his life and marred much of his work. He married in 1883, and from Cambridge went to the British Museum, where he became an assistant in the oriental department, succeeding as Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in 1893, a post in which he remained until his retirement in 1924. At the museum he proved himself a capable administrator, encouraging the work of his assistants, and displaying a keen understanding of the Eastern outlook in his dealings with Egyptians and other native people, through which he greatly enriched the national collections.

In the course of his career, a variety of academic and other distinctions were conferred upon him. He was M.A., Litt.D., D.Litt., D.Lit., F.B.A., achieved the Star of Ethiopia and the Dongola Medal, and was duly knighted in 1920.

Budge's total of publications was phenomenal, and the list of his works was at one time the longest in *Who's Who*, including editions of MSS in Hieroglyphs, Cuneiform, Coptic, Syriac and Ethiopic. His method was simply to copy a portion of some text every day of his life, and the amount of work which he accomplished in this way is truly remarkable. Scholarship is indebted to him for editions of numerous important texts, many of them accompanied by invaluable photographic reproductions. Unfortunately, however, the quality of some of his work was not high, and several of the texts which he edited have subsequently been re-copied, and others require new and more accurate publication. Writing of Budge at his death in 1934, Campbell-Thompson, his close friend and colleague, commented, "The truth must be told that he suffered all his life from a desire to get things done; he was in too great a hurry to finish," and there can be no doubt that there was some truth in this observation. But the sheer amount of work which he accomplished must atone in no small degree for his indifference to perfection, and his untiring efforts in publication and his encouragement of others to do the same have resulted in our possessing working copies of texts which might otherwise remain unpublished and even now inaccessible to scholars. In the same way, his handy guides to the Egyptian and Assyrian collections in the British Museum are a thing which no other museum possesses, and by means of them any object can be traced with comparative ease.

As a popular writer on all aspects of near eastern studies, and on Egyptology in particular, Budge still stands supreme. His output of books was immense, his style of writing engaging, and his matter interesting. He did not make the mistake of talking down to his readers, nor yet were his books so loaded with the semi-technical as to be incomprehensible. Few other orientalists, with the exception of Breasted and Maspero, have contrived



with such success to make their subject so palatable to the general reader, and there were and are many who owed their first interest in near eastern archaeology to reading one of Budge's volumes. At the present time scholars have become so involved in their professional pursuits that there are but few who find time to write for the general public, and the task of popularising the field of oriental studies devolves upon amateurs. It is an unfortunate situation, since the knowledge available is so great and so varied that only a trained scholar can hope to give a wholly accurate picture of the various aspects of the ancient near eastern civilizations. Yet in the early decades of this century Budge was able to write on all such themes with flair and equanimity. History, archaeology, religion, philology, whether Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Coptic or whatever came under his purview, and he succeeded in reducing all to terms in which they could be understood by the intelligently interested reader who yet possessed little or no specialized knowledge. At the same time, many of his more erudite, in spite of their failings, are of permanent value, and his name will always be remembered with a warmth of affection in the field of oriental studies.

JOHN HARRIS

*Christ Church, Oxford.*

#### VALEDICTION

*The great gold bird  
of autumn sings its last:  
red fires break out  
across the sky's blue plain;  
frost sets its trembling  
feather on the breath;  
and berries light  
their day-time lamps again.*

*Here, in the orchard's  
yellow after-glow,  
late fruits suspend  
their globes of mellow wine;  
the golden-rod hails winter  
with its torch;  
windows and mirrors fuse  
in pools of flame.*

*Now traffic-signals'  
triple-winking candles  
shine fierce as heated  
rubies in the dusk.  
Day draws the blind,  
and evening blows its fingers.  
Slowly the night-watch moon  
assumes its task.*

DEREK STANFORD



## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

### SUEZ

Historians seeking material for their study of the fourth invasion by Britain of Egypt in 150 years will be assisted by an indispensable volume by two French journalists of experience and industry. Swiftly written it provides the sense of overwhelming drama in Paris, London and New York, as well as the gnawing frustration in Anglo-French service camps in Cyprus. It pours out disclosures of collusion too detailed to be ignored, between British and French chiefs, French and Israeli leaders, quotes threats by Americans to British not to be found elsewhere—yet. The attack in 1956 on a people who practised civilization 6,000 years ago builds an overwhelming case for the prosecution, for the shaming vote by the United Nations assembly. On almost every page the authors provide instances of the continued ramifications of the top-secret plot between a strictly limited number of British and French personages, French and Israeli envoys. All were determined on destroying Colonel Nasser, replacing him by someone more malleable to the Anglo-French desire to stay on the Suez Canal. The French came to see Anthony Eden, and then they entertained Mr. Ben-Gurion at an airport near Paris. Someone, it seems, had enabled the French to discover Colonel Nasser's help to the Algerians, and their anger coincided with Sir Anthony's over the nationalization of the Canal. The authors obviously enjoy friendship with influential Frenchmen and major diplomats in other countries. Their picture is recognizable. The book lives. It shows muddle, incompetence, childish pride, arguments over protocol, communications—when helicopters, radio telephony and ticker tapes might have been expected to work—rivalling the pigeon post era. London asked Paris for news. Paris did not know the answer, at crucial moments. Mr. James Cameron is to be thanked for an admirable, smooth translation and apposite preface.

In one of his forewords the author of *The Most Important Country* confides in a whisper: "Every principle that I possess in politics is summed up in one sentence: the truth is great and must prevail." Pages are monotonously devoted to details of Israeli-Egyptian raids, to speeches in Parliament, to the American decision to oust the British from the Middle East, and always there is the treble gem, "vague, platitudinous, generalized," or, "tired, sick and ageing," or "curious, illogical yet practically beneficent," "repeated, sincere and determined," "jumpy, peevish and splenetic," and, "elderly, lachrymose and hysterical" (the last a great favourite). The most vicious ultimatum of our time was handed here to the Egyptian Ambassador, and not as Mr. Connell says to a *Chargé d'Affaires*. The latter operates only when the head of Mission is away. M. Pineau and Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick gave the paper to the Envoy. I know, for the Ambassador cancelled at 2 p.m. my appointment for 3 o'clock.

In vain I looked in this "full" book for a word about the causes of our invasion and occupation of Egypt in 1882, when the French deserted us; a word about the dozens of official promises in 1882 and 1883 for our immediate departure from the soil of Egypt; a word about Sir Anthony Eden's top secret chats, in London, on October 13 or 14 with M. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, now head of the Gaullist Party, on October 14 or 15 with M. Gazier (both conferences unknown to the French Ambassador or Embassy in London); a word about the promises to Dr. Fawzi that the October 11 and 12 discussions in Mr. Hammarskjöld's room would be continued in Geneva on or about October 29. Peace was clearly possible then. But the discussions of October 13, 14, 15 and 16—the last in Paris between Sir Anthony Eden, Selwyn Lloyd, the Socialist M. Mollet and M. Pineau, with experts and ambassadors rigorously excluded, led to tragedy for world peace and irreparable disaster for British interests in the Middle East.

Historians may ask whether Colonel Nasser was so wicked and Egypt so

criminal in asking for independence in fact and name, after uninterrupted military occupation for seventy-four years; they will also ask what semblance to a legal document was possessed by the treaty of 1888, signed with British troops already six years in occupation of Egypt. In 1951 I pleaded in a book for the Anglo-Egyptian divorce to be settled amicably, in good time.

GEORGE BILAIKIN

*Secrets of Suez.* By Merry and Serge Bromberger, translation by James Cameron.

Sidgwick and Jackson, 12s. 6d.

*The Most Important Country.* By John Connell, Cassell, 16s.

### RUSSIA AND THE KREMLIN

How far has the present regime in the Kremlin got the Russian people behind it? It is a question difficult to answer, but a judgment may be formed with the help of this book. The author is a French journalist who learnt Russian from his father at home when he was a child and was able to pass as a native when visiting the country. Thus able to speak to the common people his general impression is that the idealistic phase of Communism has long passed and is now only found in China. Russia has for years been ruled by calculating party bosses—controlling a vast bureaucracy which has become more and more separated from the people—they are so unpopular today that they are likely to disappear sooner or later or at least become drastically modified in action. Here he is on uncertain ground, for many imponderables and incidents may affect popular movements for reform, especially in a country like Russia. But he ventures to say that "the Russians not only see no occasion for a civil war in order to get rid of the Soviet system. They consider that its disappearance will be all the quicker and more certain if the responsibility for what has taken place is put to the account of the now dead Stalin." He thinks that the shortage of consumer goods and the bad housing condition in the towns is having an effect on the population and is causing such depression "that the whole economic existence of the country is slowing down."

In all estimates of this sort one has to bear in mind that the Russian people, with a sense of self-preservation, traditionally accept a strong central and authoritarian government because of the immense size of the country. The Tsarist regime provided this in the days of its greatness; the Communist regime succeeded it, but the Stalin period so strained the masses with its rigour and terror that there is now a danger of the whole system running down in a reaction against the excesses. Mr. Khrushchev seems to see the danger and is making desperate efforts to meet it; Mr. Malenkov saw it earlier and may yet come into his own. Although Mr. Metaxas seems convinced that the people will insist on and will get a better life, more consumer goods, more foreign imports and a general relaxation of the regime, he appreciates that Russians are proud and patriotic and have always shown a great love for a way of life which is different from that of Western Europe and America. The intellectual and spiritual life of Russia was nearly always free under the Tsars with occasional fits of reaction. Western countries, particularly America, must not imagine that discontent in Russia means the incipient stage of a violent outbreak. On the other hand one can probably look forward to a new line of policy; indeed it has already begun, according to the author, similar to the kind of thing that happened when a mild reforming Tsar like Alexander II followed the harsh and reactionary Nicolas I.

Mr. Metaxas describes the last scene when Stalin is said to have threatened his colleagues who would not support his proposed anti-Jewish *coup*. It amounted almost to a palace revolution. No one knows the truth for certain, but the story is widely believed in Russia today. It seems that the rulers in the Kremlin are not power drunk dictators but are really concerned to keep as much as possible of the Communist system which they have been taught to

believe as a religion, while satisfying the people's demand for a better and freer life. Many of them are doubting the wisdom of dragooning the satellites, and Hungary came as a terrible shock to them. Yet the rising generation "have no hankering after American education or way of life." They do not understand or want a parliamentary system, nor to be lectured to by Western anti-Communists. The Hungarians, they think, made the mistake of going too far too suddenly. The youth of Russia want to see a freer form of Communism grow. "The army," says the author, "is the centre of all Russian youth." There are important chapters on the army, the intellectuals, the peasants and workers and all of them will repay study. The book is the best estimate yet of how the mind of the Russian people is probably working.

M. PHILIPS PRICE

*Russia Against the Kremlin*, By Alexandre Metaxas. Cassell, 13s. 6d.

### GERMAN CRIMES AGAINST RUSSIANS

"If we speak of new lands, we are bound to think first of Russia and her border States," Hitler said in *Mein Kampf*. Seventeen million Germans voted him into power in spite of that. Professor Dallin takes these words as a motto when describing what innumerable Germans did in Russia from 1941 to 1945. What did the Germans plan to do with conquered Russia? Hitler said the subhuman Russians must remain alphabets and slaves to the German master race, and Himmler added that mere Germanization of the Russians would not do this time, because the conquered soil would have to be populated with Germans of pure Aryan blood; the Eastern nations were bestial and must be treated without mercy. Whether 10,000 Russian women dropped down dead while forced to dig a tank ditch was only so far interesting to him as the ditch had to be ready in time. Borman was worried about the many Russian children who seemed to be more immune from illnesses than German children, and thought it best to kill the Russian youth. Gauleiter Lohse "worked" so that his newly born son should be able to become Duke of some part of the conquered Russian provinces. Gauleiter Koch said that to control the new provinces it would be necessary to destroy the whole indigenous intelligentsia. Field-Marshal Reichenau regarded it as superfluous humanity to feed the conquered population and the prisoners of war.

The terror of the SS was beyond words. Innumerable Russians were murdered, thousands of Russian prisoners of war were shot or misused as guinea-pigs by criminal German doctors or professors. Two million Russian prisoners of war were starved to death, so that the dying ate the flesh of the dead. The occupied territory was plundered in the most barbarous manner. Goering said to Ciano in the autumn of 1941 that some 20 or 30 million Russians would die of hunger next year; some nations had to be decimated. More than seven million (men, women and even children) were deported as slave workers after having been rounded up in churches or cinemas; many fled in time and joined the partisans; their villages were burned down. Various decent Germans tried to warn against the consequences of these barbarities and later became Hitler's victims.

The Russians took a terrible revenge in 1945, which was inevitable in view of what human nature is like in reality (do not do to others what you would not like to be done by) and conquered East Prussia for good. The Germans report Mr. Carroll Reece, Republican member of the House of Representatives, as saying that it was blasphemy against civilization to call Koenigsberg, Kant's native town, Kaliningrad. Was it not infinitely more blasphemous that 1,500 German professors and lecturers hailed Hitler as their beloved Führer? Kant's famous categorical imperative runs: "Act in a way that your acts can become universal laws." Many German professors, doctors, generals had to be hanged or imprisoned for their ghastly crimes against humanity. The Hitler-Professor Hans Heyse depicted Kant as having been a

National Socialist, while Professor Kurt Huber revolted against Hitler in the name of Kant's categorical imperative and was executed. If everybody did what I did, he said to his criminal judges, "order, security, and confidence would return to our State. Every morally responsible man would raise his voice against mere violence prevailing over right, arbitrariness over the morally good. The inexorable course of history will justify my acts." It did. Professor Dallin's other quotation from *Mein Kampf* runs: "Germany will become a world power or it will not be at all." Hubris and nemesis are close together in these words of the Führer's.

J. LESSER

*German Rule in Russia 1941-1945, A Study of Occupation Policies.* By Alexander Dallin. Macmillan. 60s.

### THE LAST DAYS OF PEACE

The present volume of the German documents deals with the time from August 9 to September 3, 1939, a time of feverish diplomatic activity. Ribbentrop's visit to Moscow was carefully arranged while the British and French military missions were actually in the Russian city, and the text of the German-Russian non-aggression pact agreed on, so that within a few hours after Ribbentrop's arrival the treaty could be signed. While Mr. Molotov applied his usual delaying tactics, the Germans, by means of a telegram from Hitler to Stalin, succeeded in speeding matters so that the pact was concluded in time to attack Poland in accordance with Hitler's pre-arranged time table. Stalin readily obliged—he seemed flattered by the attention paid to him. The toasts proposed at the Moscow State banquet in honour of Ribbentrop, and indeed all the conversations of this time, have a peculiar effect on the reader, as of a macabre piece of fiction. Yet millions were to die as a consequence. Stalin seems to have believed in honour among thieves when he proposed Hitler's health, and there is a special piquancy in Mr. Molotov's suggestion that the wording of the new pact be modelled on the then existent non-aggression pacts with Poland and the Baltic States. It seems that the signing of a non-aggression pact with the USSR means *que mange du Communisme ou fascisme en meurt*.

It is fascinating to read how cleverly the net was set so that Poland was bound to be caught in it. We read the orders given to the Danzig party authorities to draw out negotiations with Poland but on no account to let them drop, while at the same time refusing all concessions; they were to keep demanding more, the more the Polish authorities were ready to come to an agreement regarding the many outstanding problems between the Free State and the Republic. The German Ambassador in Warsaw had to stay in Berlin, so that no German official of any importance was available for talks in the Polish capital. That Hitler was determined on war may be seen from the extracts from General Halder's notebook, which form a most interesting appendix to this volume. According to this—only partly printed in the Nuremberg documents—Hitler was in a position to plan mobilization to the last detail as early as August 14. Nevertheless there were still people in Great Britain who wanted to reach a settlement with Germany, including the British Ambassador, Sir Neville Henderson. It is strange to read that on August 23 he is reported to have told Hitler that "the hostile attitude to Germany did not represent the will of the British people. It was the work of Jews and enemies of the Nazis." But there were also others, from the Right and from the Left, who continued to believe that Hitler could be trusted, even after he had broken the Munich agreement.

The value of this volume is enhanced by its appendices. Reference has already been made to Halder's notebooks, but there are also some documents, found since the publication of the previous volumes, which include a number of very interesting records, such as a letter from France to Hitler, telephone conversations concerning Austria's *Anschluss*—according to Goering this was facilitated by Great Britain's attitude—and papers relating to Captain Wiedemann's mission

to London in July, 1938, and his talks with Lord Halifax, who, according to these papers, stated that the culmination of his work would be "the Führer entering London, at the side of the English king." The publication of these volumes makes impossible long-drawn acrimonious controversies such as those which took place after the 1914-1918 war. The value of the work is greatly increased by the careful annotation maintained throughout.

RICHARD BARKELEY

*Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945. Series D, Volume VIII, The Last Days of Peace.* H.M. Stationery Office. 40s.

### LAW

Volume Two of *The Law in Action*\* contains a series of ten talks broadcast in the BBC Third Programme, based upon recent legal decisions of general interest both to the lawyer and the discerning layman. Each contribution is by a well-known practising or academic lawyer. The aim, successfully achieved, was "to talk 'shop,' but in terms which would not defeat or frustrate the non-lawyer by their technicality." The scripts as reprinted have been brought up to date where necessary and revised by footnotes and contain references to the Law Reports. In one case, at least, namely Mr. E. R. Dew's talk on Constructive Desertion and Cruelty as grounds for Divorce, the law has developed since the broadcast. Other contributions include an impressive piece on standard form contracts by Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., and a valuable discussion on Crown privilege from disclosure of documents and evidence in litigation. On this matter Scots law is ahead of English law, as the author points out. Professor A. L. Goodhart has a learned talk upon the growth of the law relating to the maintenance of litigation by persons interested in the result of a particular case. A very interesting and informative talk on legal questions arising out of company take-over bids has been contributed by Professor L. C. B. Gower.

ARNOLD DE MONTMORENCY

\*Edited by R. E. Megarry, Q.C. Stevens & Sons, 10s.

### BALLAD POEMS

One of the heavier—if unrecognized—prices we have paid for "progress" is the disappearance of the ballad poets from our streets and countryside. True, in the remoter edges of these islands—the Celtic fringes, in particular—you may still if it is your lucky day come upon something which is their near relation—in a village shop or inn or street, where all else has been forgotten for the moment and everyone is concentrating on the current favourite song. The newcomer's first reaction—of pure delight—may be modified as he realizes that he is merely witnessing the pale after-glow of something which was once part of our way of living, vigorous and full-blooded as the much celebrated and lamented roast beef and good ale. An echo of it may also be caught, occasionally, through radio and press, but so debased that one cannot be sure of any real connection between it and that Muse which walked abroad in street and countryside, hawking its rhyme-sheets and singing its wares lustily.

The key word in the sub-title of this anthology is "popular." The ancient traditional ballads, of course, have had their anthologists, but it has been left to the present editors to make for their own day, from a vast store scattered throughout libraries and museums, a selection of the popular ballad poetry spanning the last four to five centuries. It is a beautiful book, and orderly as beautiful, scrupulously edited—as indeed we should expect from these editors—and with an introduction which both informs and provokes to argument. The work is divided into two main parts—General, which is broken down into seven sections, ranging from Religion to Manners and Fashions; and Amatory, sub-divided into Rural, Urban, Vocational, Clerical, Marital, and Wise and Foolish Virgins. Each section has, as frontispiece, a reproduction of a woodcut from the original documents. It can be quite a salutary exercise to read, say, the historical section, or the one on social criticism, straight through (the

arrangement is roughly chronological) noting how the poetry deteriorates as the date advances, and the moralist too frequently takes over. It is a down-hill journey from the touching "The Poore Man Payes for All" to "The Durham Lock-Out."

In their introduction the editors touch on the question—fascinating always to the critic—of the value of their poetic inheritance to young contemporary poets. There can surely be no doubt that a poet must be profoundly affected—consciously and unconsciously—by the poetic soil he has grown from; and the editors' hope, that young poets may get from their anthology "... a stimulus comparable with that which Coleridge and Scott received from the rediscovered oral ballads of the late Middle Ages," is a challenge as well as a hope. It could be so. This collection, for the general reader, restores part of the social fabric that modern development had ripped away and, in doing so, gives us a balladry only rarely clod-footed, frequently delightful and occasionally leaping into pure poetry. Between the two outer extremes, these ballads—in particular those from the earlier centuries—abound with life; the life of hot-blooded, lusty, crude, uncomplicated men and women of town and countryside; interspersed with excursions into the fantastical. Not all of their song is for the over-sensitive ear, but the unsqueamish will discern a fundamental innocence.

Of the high-lights, "A Song Made by F.B.P.," with the first line "*Hierusalem, my happie home*" is surely paramount. Those who know this poem only in the amputated forms (in *Hymns Ancient & Modern*, for instance) will rejoice in the 27 stanzas given here, one more even than the version by Messrs. Ingram & Newton in their recent anthology, *Hymns as Poetry*. Who was this F.B.P. and what could have inspired him to this superb poem, the vision, possibly, of a Contemplative? On a different level, the charming—anonymous—"Phillida Flouts Me" haunts the ear. And even to one constitutionally averse from the "... Bloody Battells" of the historical section, the ending of John Looke's "A Famous Sea-Fight" (1639):

Defend Them from ill sands and rocks,  
and Lord their battell fight  
As thou didst for *Elisabeth*  
in the yeare 88,

disarms and humbles, by its faith done into poetry.

But the editors do, surely, stretch a point when, discussing the influence of ballad poetry on poets of greater stature, they suggest that some of Blake's *Songs of Innocence & Experience* "... might be described as street ballads spiritualized and transfigured ..." Hosts of these ballads, if spiritualized and transfigured would be, instead of enchanting songs, great poems. But they are, for the most part, yoked firmly to earth by the minds which conceived them.

LOVEDAY MARTIN

*The Common Muse: An Anthology of Popular British Ballad Poetry: Fifteenth to Twentieth Centuries.* Edited by V. de Sola Pinto & A. E. Rodway. Chatto & Windus. 25s. (With Appendices: 63s.)

Visitors to Corsica, past or future, will welcome Dr. Alexander Rossmann's little book, *Korsika*, Paul Haupt, Bern, 4.50 fr., on one of the most romantic of Mediterranean islands. It will be most appreciated by those who understand German, for the Introduction and titles of the illustrations are in that language; but it is well worth the modest price for the superb pictures of mountains and coast, villages and churches, men, women and animals, trees and flowers. Of course there is a picture of a bandit with his guns, but it is reassuring to learn that he died 30 years since. The author knows all that there is to be known about the history, geography and geology of the country. Two hundred years ago the name of the patriot Pasli was acclaimed in England, and following the birth of Napoleon at Ajaccio tourists have poured into the capital of the island—for centuries Genoese and now a portion of France—but the inhabitants are too virile to lose their own way of life.



## BOOKS ON THE TABLE

The tools of the writer's craft, the possibilities he sees in rough material, the forge and the bench at which he fires and hammers, shapes and fits, the hours and division of his labour, the progress reports and the blanks, the contemporary happenings and the inner conflicts that influence his course, his methods of selection and classification of facts and fancies—all these are endlessly fascinating to contemplate, and any one of them is capable of lifting the meanest autobiography above the chitchat of daily living. DICKENS AT WORK (*Methuen*. 25s.) is generous in invitation—to see *Sketches by Boz* collected and revised, the *Pickwick Papers* passing into a book (the soaring circulation of which interfered with what should have been the first published novel *Barnaby Rudge*), the design and execution of *Dombey and Son*, the topical allusions in *Bleak House*, and the transition from "Nobody's Fault" to *Little Dorrit*. The authors, John Butt who is Professor of English in the University of Durham, and Kathleen Tillotson, Reader in English Literature in the University of London have had access to unpublished material, have tapped the resources of the Forster collection of manuscripts, proof sheets and memoranda in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and have quoted from letters housed in the great American libraries. Consequently, in the two chapters "David Copperfield Month by Month" and "Hard Times: The Problems of a Weekly Serial" Dickens' plans are set out for each number with almost mathematical precision and looking not unlike account book entries. We may see how he overstepped his monthly allowance of 32 pages by 35 lines, and how the demands of the story insisted on additional space: "Weekly Nos to be enlarged to ten of my sides each—about" jots the author. Dickens addicts may read the deletions too, and mourn the losses. He brought the precision of journalism to the art of the novel, and the businessman's acumen to the production and selling of the commodity,

and no matter how weary the writer the stint reads fresh and clear, his plot and sub-plot in accord with each other and the whole.

## "To deprave and corrupt"

Model prisons, redemption of prostitutes, treatment of lunatics, slum clearance and sanitary reform were some of the agitations of the day which Dickens caught up and brandished in his tales. Around the date of his death Chief Justice Cockburn was ruling on the test of obscenity, a formidable nettle for a Victorian novelist to grasp. Not so in a time when the threat of prosecution hangs over innocents and R. E. Barker, "well known in the publishing world," seizes it with considerable agility. TENDENCY TO CORRUPT (*Cassell*. 15s.) is a demonstration that if, as Mr. Bumble said, "the law is a ass" it can sometimes be a dangerous one. Its anomalies in administration can strain the strongest nerves; Martin Storme, brilliant and successful author as he is, is poorly equipped and disintegrates before our eyes. His publishers' managing director, Harry Palfrey, is of sterner stuff, but even the harassments of life at the office cannot shake off the nightmarish oppression of a law ready, even eager, to pounce and kill. With all their fears and passions roused, the characters in the story yet remain not unnaturally the lay figures of urgent propaganda: the candid poet, the staunch fiancée, her disapproving father, the people—supercilious or intense, inferior or superior complex-ridden—sitting behind the desks only too recognizable as types to be found wherever books are produced. The publisher is full of conscious rectitude to the point of naïvete, and the spineless young man at the typewriter has the facility and fertility of a Dickens. Nevertheless the novel fulfils its purpose of registering the mounting tension from the moment when the police indiscriminately and legally confiscate, and the advice of Mr. Smathers the solicitor, the handling of witnesses by counsel, and the

summing-up of judges to juries who cannot agree on a verdict, are admirable in their verisimilitude. And the reader shares to the last the bafflement, the deflation, the frustration at the edge of Palfrey's nervous breakdown, when there is "no triumphant vindication, no absolution, just 'not proven'."

### Mental sickness

Another cause for profound unease has had its spokesman in Donald McL. Johnson, M.P., first, in the third instalment of his autobiography *A DOCTOR RETURNS* (Christopher Johnson, 16s.) and now, in *THE PLEA FOR THE SILENT* (Christopher Johnson, 12s. 6d.) for which with Norman Dodds, M.P., he writes an Introduction. Chapter XVIII of *A Doctor Returns* begins: "So here I am, a Member of Parliament. Am I . . . an elected member of this great and historic assembly that has defended individual freedom throughout the centuries? Or am I the wraith-like being without legal substance or constitutional rights that has flitted through this book?" For, to quote him again, he had "no doubt . . . that Betty [his wife] and I had been the victims of poisoning by Indian hemp or hashish." But how to convince bureaucracy that there is evidence for investigation, especially when he finds himself undergoing detention for six weeks in a mental hospital? As a doctor of medicine he is familiar with symptoms and able to interpret warnings; he can distinguish between the effects of derangement physical and mental, but after imprisonment "in such arbitrary fashion without any opportunity of enquiring into the circumstances" he is advised by learned counsel that recourse to law offers no remedy. His book is the record of the probings and questionings in his unceasing fight for the reform of the attitude to mental illness.

*The Plea for the Silent* is a series of cases, selected from the postbags of the two M.P.s, contributed by sufferers under such titles as "No Benefit of Jury," "Strange Therapeutics," and "Fear Gripped Me." They make a "grievance committee who have been

unable to obtain a hearing." The Introducers cannot find that the authors were treated in the way most conducive to the improvement of their mental health. The essay "Legality against Justice" by E. Pakenham-Walsh gives a judge's point of view on the civil and legal rights aspect of mental health administration. Both these books should be cited in the campaign for greater care in certification, and serve as works of reference to health service, lawyer and doctor.

### The art of healing

THE LETTERS OF LUKE THE PHYSICIAN (G. Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.) is Canon Roger Lloyd's construction of the correspondence "a very good and deeply compassionate doctor" would be likely to have. The historical facts are few, not all of his travels can be traced from his writings, and we know Paul was his friend. But these are enough for Canon Lloyd's imagination inspired by his own love and admiration to work upon, and the writer he presents does not disappoint. Other letters, from Barnabas to James the Elder for example, ingeniously supply backgrounds and complementary portraits of Luke. They describe Antioch and the Greek physician who "creates a sense of trust wherever he goes," or the house he lives in at Troas, or they are addressed from Rome, Miletus and Caesarea. But Luke's own narrative is resumed at judicious intervals, and the whole collection gives the reader leave to assume that his life and work must have been just like this. If the style is sometimes tiresomely matey, it is unreasonable to suppose that Luke's contemporaries always spoke as if they were subjects of James, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

### Excuse

Mismanagement, due to a short acquaintance with the Contemporary Review's halved literary supplement, has crowded out *THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH: Volumes one and two* (Cambridge University Press, 52s. 6d. each), by Philip Carrington, which lies so appositely to Luke upon the table.

GRACE BANYARD

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on the name of the Lord shall  
be delivered."* (Joel ii. 32)

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